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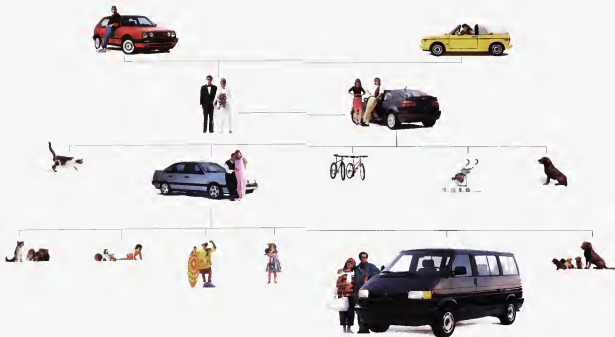
ON A ROLL

The NDP now controls three provinces containing more than half of Canada's population. Voters seem to be redrawing the nation's political contours partly in a protest against Brian Mulroney's Conservatives. And the process may be gathering force.



NDP premiers Michael Harcourt, Roy Romanow and Bob Rae





Here before you lies the Montgomery Family Tree. It all began when Robert R. Montgomery pictured top left with his Golf GTI met Sarah Jane Anderson, pictured in her

Cabriolet, top right. It was love at first sight (We think it was their Volkswagen that drove them together). Wedding bells ring, nuptial bliss prevailed and well, you can

see what happened after that. Fortunately, the Montgomery family is also a Volkswagen family. So when they desired speed and excitement - ah, the early years of marriage - they bought the Corrado. When they needed a sedan, they bought the Passat. And when they needed a really big car, they bought our new mini-van, EuroVan.

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 **EuroVan**

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE NOVEMBER 6, 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 45

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COVER

ON A ROLL

With Ray Robinson's landslide victory in Saskatchewan, the New Democratic Party holds sway over three provinces—and 52 per cent of the Canadian population. That gives the NDP premier of Saskatchewan, Brian Topp, a powerful collective voice in constitutional and economic affairs. And the shift of popular opinion that put them in office sends a warning to the federal Conservatives.

— 37



CANADA

EAST RIVER RIPPLES

The addition of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's name to the list of candidates for the post of viceregal general has left Canadians pondering the prospect that the man who has been leader for seven controversial years could meet his swansong in a more congenial international setting.

— 16



ROYALTY

A REGAL MYSTIQUE

Despite the emphasis on substance rather than ceremony, thousands of Canadians who saw the Prince and Princess of Wales in Ontario last week seemed to be mesmerized by the mystique of royalty. But the visitors' crowded separate schedules rarely permitted a departure from the script.

— 37



COVER PHOTO: JANE EMMETT; RAY ROBINSON: JEFFREY MACKAY/GETTY

LETTERS

MAKING THE GRADE

I confess, I seriously considered sending your "A moment of excellence" note on universities (Special Report, Oct. 31) from my doctor's office because I could not find a single copy at a bookstore. I finally had to borrow an ampoule to read one of the article's impetuous copious. Now I see why it was so popular. Maclean's really shines when it does something new, particularly like this.

Robert S. McNamee,
President, Alpha East Province,
Phi Delta Theta Fraternity,
Toronto

Outrageous Embarrassment, Hart. Those are some of the emotions I felt upon learning that Carleton University was ranked 44th of 46 Canadian universities by Maclean's. Among its accomplishments, Carleton pioneered programs in *preliminary public administration* and Canadian studies. At Carleton, I was able to study architecture and develop as an individual. Today, I have an established architecture practice. And my story is not unique. Carleton students are successful in all walks of life.

Peter C. Pielke,
President,
Carleton University Alumni Association,
Ottawa

Your articles on Canadian universities were great. Even if you were only 10 years out right, you're right on. Please do it again next year. Guy Delouart,
Toronto

Among the highest faculty-to-student ratio in Canada contributes significantly to the quality of our undergraduate teaching. But we ranked lower on issues that were, surprisingly, an afterthought in our context. We have more talented beds than the student population requires, yet you rank us 30th in that category. You did not count our provincial scholarships, but more than 80 per cent are held here. Because we are this province's only university, we accept qualified students. We disagree emphatically with the notion that this ratio is 44th in measures of quality of our student body. We regret that we have to give you a D on your ranking system, and suggest you try again.

A. W. McKe,
President, Memorial University,
St. John's, Nfld.

Your important ranking of Canadian universities chiefly at the undergraduate level, will no doubt stir debate. But I should point out that an excellent undergraduate teacher is not necessarily the dedicated researcher whose work is supported by the grants you take into consider-



McGill compares a controversial survey.

ation as criteria for undergraduate teaching. Secondly, I was surprised that the relative strength of research libraries was not one of the criteria for your survey.

Prof. Joseph Shum,
University of Toronto,
Toronto

Your universities feature was superbly done. But as a retired professor, I have a few corrections that universities must be judged by individual faculties, not the total institution. As well, an intellectually curious, hardworking student can benefit enormously from instruction even in a second-year institution.

William Reid,
San Anito, Ont.

A MISTAKEN ADDITION

Your explanation of the federal proposal for amending the Charter of Rights and Freedoms seems to contain a significant addition ("I propose to survive," *Globe*, Oct. 7). It states incorrectly that any one of the notwithstanding clause "would last only three years—success of the current five—before it would have to be renewed." Your people have been misinformed, although how this could have happened defies comprehension. Presumably, they have access to the official publication, which is very clear and explicit. There is no such restriction in the federal proposal.

James De Monte,
Toronto

Correction: In continued, Philip Gidycz notes, although not a student, although neither "My" letters to the editor. Maclean's suggests these things. (Oct. 31, 1991, p. 100).

PASSAGES

DIED: Star Trek creator Gene Roddenberry, 70, after suffering a heart attack at a hospital in Santa Monica, Calif. A veteran of the Second World War, Roddenberry began his television career in the 1950s as a scriptwriter for such shows as *Dragnet* and *Have Gun, Will Travel*. But he was best known as the creative force behind the *Star Trek* series, which NBC cancelled in 1969 after only three seasons. The show, which played Canadian actor William Shatner as Capt. James T. Kirk, went on to star widespread popularity in reruns. It also spawned six *Star Trek* feature films, as well as *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, an updated version of the original TV series.



was angry about conditions that the film made after he turned positive for alcohol and inherited his gold medal at the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

DIVORCED: Country music singer Roseanne Cash, 36, and Rodney Crowell, 41, after 12 years of marriage. Cash, daughter of country music stars Johnny Cash and June Carter, is known for such hit recordings as *Seven Year Ache* and *Tennessee Platypus*.

DROPPED: A jury-belt charge against 25-year-old former soccer star Rudy Lamer, Jr., in possession in Canada. Lamer, 21, was charged with possession of a gun and a gun in the 1990s, was accused of kidnapping \$34,449 worth of laptops and equipment at a local drugstore in Japan.

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Macleon's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

LETTERS

THE BUSINESS OF UNITY

Peter C. Newman's Oct. 7 Business Watch column, "A dating strategy—and bold execution," serves only to remind us enormous propaganda apparatus that has been set in motion since again to meet Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's special summit of Canada's. The Meech Lake accord was an elaborate attempt to amend the Constitution. Yet people of influence, politicians of all stripes and the media joined the government's massive effort to sell it to Canadians. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, backed by a massive party, countless special-interests and an array of public relations types, is poised to absorb not another dissenting opinion within the constitutionalist propaganda. This is a gross and odious violation of democracy.

A. F. Karmaz, *Windsor, Ont.*

CAMPAIGN CONUNDRUM

I found it interesting that in your Sept. 28 issue you devoted one page to the BC election campaign ("Back to the future" Cause), two-thirds of a page to the Saskatchewan election ("The harvest campaign," Cause) and two full pages to the Democratic presidential nomination race in Iowa ("Democratic battle begins," World).

Teresa Katschke, *Prince George*

PORNOGRAPHY FOR THE MASSES

A few years ago, social critic and novelist Tom Wolfe noted that "pornography has become an everyday affair." So it should hardly strike us so unusual that the royalties from TV talk show host Geraldo Rivera's erotic memoir are being set aside for the benefit of underprivileged children ("Casquet in Casard Park," Opening Notes, Sept. 18), or that crime reporters are making charitable donations to hospitals ("Thick money flows to hospitals," First Business, An American View, Oct. 7). We are in the process of giving a whole new meaning to the old-world phrase "the beauty of art."

David Stephano, *Shelburne, Que.*

FORGIVING THE UNFORGIVABLE

Words fail to express my utter disgust and disappointment over the suggested cancellation of Japanese pilots to a proposed commemoration of the atomic attack on Pearl Harbor that took place 50 years ago ("Sowing no to reconciliation," Opening Notes, Oct. 14). The idea to forgive and forget with all enemies is OK, but let us not confuse good taste with bad.

William Spitz, *Wash. Area, D.C.*



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OPENING NOTES

Brian Mulroney speaks out on sexual harassment, Irving Layton's poetry appreciates, and the Queen gets a new title

OUT BUT NOT DOWN

Two weeks ago, Quebec's Equality party expelled Montreal lawyer Richard Holden from its ranks after he publicly criticized the party for being "anti-Quebec" and filled with "radicals." Holden says that he will continue to sit in the Montreal Assembly as an independent member for the riding of Westmount, and he told Holden that he will also continue "to fight to show Quebecers that nationalists are not all that bad." Holden, who admits to spending most of his afternoon holding court with other Montreal natives and drinkers at Grumpy's, a downtown bar, has a reputation in Quebec political circles as a goody. Indeed, even his friend and fellow Grumpy's devotee Marcelle Bidler recently told a television interviewer that nothing Holden says after 2 p.m. in the afternoon should be taken seriously. Holden's response: "If I can't be understood in the afternoon, neither can he." He adds: "If somebody wants to criticize us, I say come to Grumpy's and have a few drinks. That's where decisions are made."

Holden: holding court in a downtown Montreal bar



PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

A poetic licence to print money

When Canadian television suggests Mos Def was a Grade 7 student in Montreal in the 1960s, one of his teachers was a relatively obscure poet, Irving Layton. According to Def, Layton used to ask his poetry books to his students at night, late. "Nothing over cost more than 50 cents," Def says. At the time, he collected 32 of Layton's books. Recently, he said that a rare-book dealer approached him. Layton's collection of 14,360. Said Def: "I certainly have had good luck in TV, but nothing comes close to the 1,000-odd copies I've had on Layton's advice." Speaking to a crowd last week in Toronto to pay tribute to the 79-year-old poet, Def said: "I say Irving Layton for president."

Layton: sound advice from a teacher



PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

SUPPLIES BUT NO DEMAND

For Mulroney this year, many American retailers stocked up on Gulf War-related costumes. But they are just not as popular as the perennial favorite, Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. Retailers say that despite high expectations, there is almost no interest in other Norman Schwarzkopf or Iraqis-related Saddam Hussein merchandise—and demand for snack gas masks is equally low. Said Patricia Edwards, assistant manager of Consumers Unlimited in Indianapolis: "He can't believe it—we haven't sold one." A case of trick but no treat.

A never-ending city rivalry

A series of ads that Calgary tourism officials are running in Edmonton newspapers to placate the long-standing rivalry between the two cities. "Dear Edmonton, we at something we said," says one of the campaign, which is designed to lure Edmontonians to Calgary. It adds: "Look, we're probably both sad things in the heart of the continent we didn't want—but it's time to make up." But the non-apology-apology. Ronald Syme, chairman of Edmonton Tourism, says that his city was the first to extend an olive branch. He closed his ad: "We did it first earlier this year with our 'Yes City' campaign in Calgary."

A FOREBODING FALL FORECAST

The Clarence Thomas-Archie Hill controversy led Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to speculate that similar allegations of sexual harassment may surface on Parliament Hill by the end of the year. Mulroney recently told reporters: "I bet a dollar in a drought that we will end with the same kind of accusation against someone in the House of Commons before Christmas." During the 11-day Senate hearings that eventually confirmed Thomas's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court, Hill's emotional testimony swayed TV viewers across



PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

Mulroney: following U.S. trends

Red changes



PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

North America. But since then, many commentators have criticized the hearings for failing to deal adequately with Hill's charges against Thomas. Mulroney, for one, says that he was "appalled" by the spectacle and thought that the farce was detrimental to both sides. But he got much of the blame for the controversy, which he said led to "a loss of decorum." Declared Mulroney: "There is no use of the respect for institutions that there used to be, only a desire for a quick hit on the evening news." He added: "Sexual harassment is an extremely serious thing. That is why it is all the more problematic when it is based not there as casually against someone."

FIGHTING FIRES WITH CANADIAN INGENUITY

The devastating brushfires raging through northern California has led state officials to reconsider their long-standing reluctance to buy Canadian-made water bombers. The worst fire in California history has killed at least 24 people and ravaged 1,300 acres. As a result, there is heightened interest now in Canada's \$18-million-a-3,317 aircraft. Said Cynthia Gault, a Los Angeles spokesman for General, which is a subsidiary of Montreal-based Bombardier Inc.: "As sad as it is, we've been getting ear shots of attention from officials these days." But she also cautioned that a deal is not yet in sight. Added William Tule, deputy director of the state's Fire Protection Branch: "Now, our issue is not whether it's a good aircraft. Our issue is cost."

The spoils of war

The Pentagon has announced that 4,000 medals will receive decorations for their contribution to the Gulf War. That is in addition to the 67,000 combat medals already awarded. (About 540,000 American troops were involved.) But the current round of heavy metal is relatively modest compared with the decorating spree that followed other conflicts. About 25,000 U.S. troops were involved in France in 1960, but only 2,000 saw combat. The Pentagon later ordered 44,000 medals. (The figure includes duplicate decorations.) Now, such statements as Steve Martin and Bob Hope are candidates. According to Pentagon officials, the new medals will "celebrate men who reduced some of the same hazards and conditions faced by the military." Even Pentagon spokesman Eric Williams, who spent most of the war battling reporters in Washington, is on the list.

Martin enduring military hazards



PHOTO BY GUY AROCH

Out of Africa

Among the former British colonies that make up the multi-lingual Commonwealth, English is the lingua franca. So it



The Queen: number 11?

was at the recent Commonwealth conference in Zimbabwe, where most of the population speaks the local Shona language. And at times, confusion over English usage came through on local television coverage. At one point, Queen Elizabeth II was introduced as "Queen Elizabeth Eleven." And her husband, Prince Philip, became "the Duck of Edinburgh."

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EAST RIVER RIPPLES

DOES HE OR DOES HE NOT? SIGNALS WERE MIXED ON THE CHANCES OF MULRONEY GOING TO A TOP UN JOB

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney shed his solemn reserve for a brief moment of lightheartedness as he stepped to the podium to speak to members of Montreal's Chamber of Commerce in a four-story hotel last week. Declared a smiling Mulroney: "It is a great pleasure for me to be here in New York—ah, I mean, Montreal." As Mulroney paused, his audience reacted with immediate understanding—and laughter. In a week in which the Prime Minister's name appeared on a list of contenders to become the next secretary general of the United Nations, he had little need to explain his international slip. But as Mulroney repeatedly sidestepped queries about his political future—and with close aides and confidants offering conflicting assessments of his intentions—it became clear that reports of his UN candidacy were no laughing matter. And Yves Fassin, Canada's ambassador to the international body: "If the odd issue (of support) generates momentum, the Prime Minister will be forced to take a very, very important decision." By week's end, however, the Prime Minister appeared to be almost totally on keeping his options open after a slow vote in the 15-member Security Council left him well placed in the race. In the meantime, Mulroney insisted that he must strengthen the position and that he is planning to run again in the next election. In reply to questions from Liberal leader Jean Charest, he declared: "The thing that I look forward to perhaps most in the world as premier (Charest) is an election campaign in 1993." And on Friday, one close aide insisted privately that Mulroney had instructed Porter to remove his name from consideration by the United Nations. But diplomatic sources, noting that too open a demonstration of ambition for the position could be fatal to any candidacy, said that the United Nations could continue

Mulroney even without his explicit consent. And despite several opportunities to do so, Mulroney declined to say directly whether he would accept the position if it is offered.

It did seem clear that over the weekend the Prime Minister was weighing several major considerations. For one thing, insiders said that neither Mulroney nor President George Bush had anticipated the strength of the Atlantic delegates' resistance to the appointment of anyone other than one of their own candidates to the secretary general's post. For another, the acting ambassador, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, was proving surprisingly reluctant to extend his term again to give the Prime Minister time to achieve a constitutional settlement in Canada before moving to the United Nations. Mulroney might be prepared to make the move from Sussex Drive in Ottawa to his headquarters on New York's East River before the constitutional process is complete if that were the only way in which he could assume the UN leadership. But he would almost certainly not risk a long fight for a job that he was cautious of getting. A loss here is deemed certain to further weaken his position in Canada and diminish his standing abroad.

But whatever becomes of Mulroney's candidacy, it currently has wide Canadian support in circles and startling debate with the prospect that the new sign of their next leader to follow could soon be leaving. And as voters and politicians alike considered the shape of a future without Mulroney, their speculations took some revealing turns. Nichols was that truer than among Conservatives—some of whom appeared almost eager to shed a deeply unpopular leader, while others expressed alarm at the outcome of the country's early debate if Mulroney were to leave.

That possibility first emerged faintly early last week, when both the United States and Britain added Mulroney's name to a list of



Opposition deputy prime minister Borden Glick.

While the Security Council relied through the merits of the contenders for the world's most prestigious diplomatic appointment, Canadians were left with conflicting impressions of whether Mulroney really wanted the position. Close friends of the Prime Minister said that he was leaning towards acceptance—and several of them were urging him in that direction. But one: "Why should he be putting up with all the crap he faces now from the public when this is available?" But others among his

political reformers that reported last June: "The pose that is coming is the most crucial year in constitutional affairs in his own country. On the other hand, he may have another choice later that in his life."

But other Tories, alarmed at Mulroney's personal unpopularity and the party's continued low standing in the polls—several 15 per cent—were more sanguine about the prospect of an early departure. William Atwood, a Tory MP from Quebec, who chairs the party's Meech Lake task force, suggested that the move might benefit

National Notes

WILEY-CHAMBERS BILING

After a 24-year delay, Federal Court Justice Frank Corbett ruled that Vancouver resident Jack Lungen could be stripped of his Canadian citizenship—opening the way for the federal government to deport him. Lungen, 72, who immigrated to Canada from Paraguay in 1961, did not tell Canadian authorities that he was convicted in absentia in his native Holland in 1947 of collaborating with the Nazis.

GOLD WALKS OUT

Quebec Superior Court Justice Alan Gold, brought in six weeks ago by the federal government to mediate between the federal government and Quebec over the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, resigned, stating that he could not resolve the dispute. Federal Labor Minister Marcel Dugas said that while the two sides reached agreement on their own over the weekend, he would table legislation to clarify any assumption of the striking actions that could prompt a strike for 14 days in September.

SUNING WANDER ZALM

Real estate agent Yusef Luing said former B.C. premier William Vander Zalm and Vancouver-based Homeowner Realty Ltd. for more than \$1.1 million. Luing, whose release of taped conversations with the premier contributed to Vander Zalm's resignation, said: "I don't see conflict of interest, claiming that she did not receive a commission for arranging the controversial \$1.1-million sale in September, 1990, of Flanagan Gardens, Vander Zalm's realty firm's park."

QUEBEC LIBERALS SLIDE

A public poll released by Montreal's polling firm suggested that the opposition Parti Québécois would have crushed Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberals if a Quebec election had been held in mid-October. Of 500 voters, half said that they would have voted for the PQ, compared with 33 per cent for the Liberals.

WELLS SORTS HIS STAINS

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells said that he could accept the resignation of Quebec as a distinct society. "If that's what the people of Quebec want," said statement by Wells, whose opposition to the Meech Lake accord's distinct society clause helped tilt that constitutional deal, created some optimism in Quebec. But Newfoundland's Minister of Education, "I'll discuss it with my most constructive discussions with Mr. Wells and other persons."

Mulroney: business references to the United Nations in Toronto and Montreal.

political advisers conceded that Mulroney is the only leader who can keep the Tories' fractious mix of nationalist Quebecers and westerners united during the critical debate over constitutional reform. Said one longtime friend: "His big question is how his departure would help or hurt the national unity cause."

Within the government caucus, many Tories said that they were torn between pride in Mulroney's candidacy and their uncertainty about a future without him. Said Tory whip James Harkin: "If he is the most credible candidate, it is an awesome challenge and quite as hard." Said Senator Gerald Boudreau, who co-chaired a parliamentary committee on con-

stitutional reform that reported last June: "The pose that is coming is the most crucial year in constitutional affairs in his own country. On the other hand, he may have another choice later that in his life."

Other Tories—especially from Mulroney's home province of Quebec—were more dismayed at the prospect of his departure. Said Claude Jacques, an MP from the Montreal-area

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CANADA

ending at Marston: "Malruay [has] to stay until our constitutional problems have been settled. It is a must." To that end, Marston said when Totten said that they hope that any appointment can be delayed until Canada's constitutional debate is resolved.

When the United Nations, there were signs that Malruay's supporters were prepared to try to delay. Some of the sources said that Bush—Malruay's most enthusiastic sponsor—was pressing Pierre de Cullaz to stay on for an additional six months to a year. That delay would be aimed at allowing Malruay enough time to deal with Canada's constitutional talks before resigning. But Pierre de Cullaz, 71, is already serving as ambassador beyond his original retirement plans and is eager to step down. But Fortier, who met recently with the secretary general "to discuss his ongoing efforts about his leaving at the end of the year," they were duped.

Elsewhere, there was support for Malruay's candidacy, which was first discussed by critics of the world's most important international relations at a meeting in London in July. Although the British and U.S. governments traditionally support the same choice, Malruay's chances were enhanced by the fact that France—which, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has the right to veto any choice—is insisting that the next secretary general be fluent in French. The only other candidates who speak French, Chibana, was educated at Montreal's McGill University and is married to a first cousin Québécois. African nations are pressing for an appointment from one of their countries. But diplomatic sources said that Chibana's appointment would be vetoed by the United States because of his government's socialist policies.

Still, even the support of permanent members of the Security Council was no guarantee that Malruay's candidacy would survive the complex machinations of its politics. At first glance, the selection process appears relatively simple, in a secret ballot, the final nominee must be approved by a majority of nine of the 15 council members, including all five permanent members. In the event of a tie between candidates, the council can also select the top candidate's name in the General Assembly in a vote by all 194 member countries.

But Malruay, that process has also been delayed because of the diverse goals and interests of council members—particularly those of

the permanent five. Indeed, the only person Canadian to be formally considered for the job, former prime minister Lester Pearson, was among the final candidates in both 1966 and 1982. On the second occasion, he had the support of two council members, Pearson, who at the time was serving as president of the General Assembly, later described a his own as the public posturing that took place between superpowers over his proposed candidacy. After the American-sponsored another candidate, wrote Pearson, "It was interpreted variously as an indication [they] would not have me, or alternatively, that the Americans were anxious to have me and were clever enough to realize that the only way the Russians would agree with this would be to choose my own person entirely from that of Washington. Therefore, they were containing someone else, the third person." Whether the Americans' intent, the Soviets eventually voted Pearson's candidacy.

But diplomatic sources said that the Soviets, at the end of the Cold War, are prepared to support a U.S.-backed candidate. The most likely spoiler for a Malruay candidacy in China, which has already said that the next secretary general should be African. Still, some Western analysts said that Bush, a former ambassador to China who took a relatively low-key stance towards the country after the 1989 government-backed killings of pro-democracy students in Tiananmen Square, might be able to persuade Beijing to vote Malruay's nomination.

The Prime Minister has also recently resumed relations with Beijing—although Canadian Minister of Agriculture William McKeown refused leaders during a trade mission to China last week when he was asked the Chinese to improve their human rights record.

If Malruay is indeed actively seeking to replace Pierre de Cullaz, his prospects will be enhanced by his schedule in coming days. On Nov. 7 and 8, he meets with NATO leaders in Rome. The days later, he joins the leaders of 41 other nations at the Francophonie Summit in Paris. These events added further pressure on the Prime Minister to make a clear choice between a global mandate—and the entrenched business of maintaining his seat.

ANTHONY WILSON/STAFF WRITER with ALLAN MCKENZIE in Washington, IAN MATHIAS in London and GARY ALLEN and E. KAREY FULTON in Ottawa



Fortier: studied ambivalence



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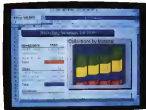
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Anderson: a growing roster of former Liberal and NDP activists—and large donation

Converts in high places

The Reform party wants money and talent

The young Ottawa executive's conversion to the fledgling populist party was a dramatic reversal of political faith. For nearly half of his 35 years, Richard Anderson, a bilingual member of Quebec, had served the Liberal party, requesting support for such luminaries as John Turner, party president Donald Johnston and Paul Martin Jr. But Anderson's loyalties changed 10 months after his first meeting with Reform Party of Canada leader Preston Manning in September. Anderson, the general manager of Hill and Knowlton—Ottawa's largest lobbying firm—became one of a growing number of influential converts to Alberta-based Reform. In an interview last week, Anderson developed the conversion, conceding, "People keep looking at me as if I've done something novel and different. But I see myself as following, rather than leading someone." But even as a follower, Anderson is the kind of politically experienced figure that Reform party strategists have been coveting with increasing vigor as the federal party grows for a new enrollment and fundraising drive that begins next week.

So far, the defections of such influential individuals as Anderson and former Turner campaign director William Lee, another prominent Ottawa liberal, seem comparatively few. "And," says Manitoba Liberal leader

started getting its share of the help from now."

Reform's overall support in opinion polls has remained roughly flat with that of the federal Tories in the mid-twenties since last spring. But an Edmonton survey of 1,000 voters between Oct. 3 and 7 revealed that the number of respondents who said that they would never vote for Reform has declined to 18 per cent from 23 in the space of a year. Still, Daniel "Bulfinch" Anderson is becoming more acceptable as an alternative.

Some recent converts to Reform support that claim former NDP supporter and Saskatchewan, Ont., high-school science teacher Gordon Ku-bert, 33, for one, joined Reform after a rally in Ottawa last summer. "It's new for a change," and Reform, led in Ontario, Ont., Robert Hawkins, 32, a welder and former Liberal who joined Reform last year, asserts that are shortages of his new party regularly attract high-profile local Liberals as well as Conservatives. Still, Anderson says "Reform is going to surprise a lot of people."

The surprise may be heightened if Reform's overturn in big business proves to be successful. During a visit to Toronto by the Reform leader on Oct. 4, David Anderson, a financial consultant and former campaign worker for Tory International Minister Michael Wilson, introduced Manning to 300 business leaders. Among them three local presidents, a trust company president and the chief executive officers of several major Ontario-based retailing and manufacturing companies. Several, Anderson told Manning, opened their checkbooks to the new party. "You could be amazed," Anderson said. "There are a number of corporate donors in the \$150,000 range."

But that heightened interest may be accompanied by greater public scrutiny of Reform's program. The party has not proven that it can field a large number of candidates to match the stature of its leader. And some supporters concede that their diverse political backgrounds could well weaken struggles over policy details. Still, Reform supporter Henry Curran, a Brandon, Man., and former NDP MLA, "There could be donations."

For his part, Anderson acknowledged that the party still faces substantial obstacles in establishing itself as a credible alternative in many voters' minds. But he added that Reform's growth will continue. Behind Anderson's "I think the sky is the limit." At the very least, such confidence on the part of a former Liberal spokesman clearly offers a challenge to the party he has left behind.

GLENN ALLEN with E. KATE FULTON in
Ottawa

NEW DEMOCRATS ON A ROLL

For Halifax businessman Brian Fleming, the twin victories of the New Democratic Party over conservative provincial governments in the past two weeks evoked powerful memories of a previous era. As the official responsible for political affairs in Atlantic Canada in Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's office in 1976, Fleming flew to Halifax soon after then-New Scotia Premier David Reynolds called a provincial election that year. But as Fleming campaigned alongside the Liberal premier, many voters recognized him as a prominent Trudeau aide. Ignoring Reynolds, they turned on Fleming and his boss, demanding Trudeau. When Reynolds lost the subsequent election, many analysts blamed the loss squarely on widespread dissatisfaction with Trudeau's policies. Trudeau's last 11 years in office witnessed the elimination of Liberal governments in every one of the five provinces where they had held power in the middle of his first term. Now, that unifying cycle of Canadian politics appears to be repeating itself—this time, against Conservative administrations.

When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney swept into power on Sept. 4, 1984 with 211 Conservative seats—a record—Tory governments ruled in seven provinces. In its eighth, British Columbia, the local version of the Conservatives, the Social Credit party, held office. But in less than five years, and with increasing momentum, the voters defeated Tory governments in Ontario, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Then, on Oct. 17 of this year, British Columbia's Social Credit fell as the New Democrats under leader Michael Bennett. And last week, Saskatchewan's NDP, led by Roy Romanow, defeated Conservative Premier Grant Devine's administration (page 20).

That left Tory governments in only three provinces. Even there, the Conservatives' clasp on power in Nova Scotia's legislature steadily unraveled against their emboldened opposition. In Manitoba, the party holds a bare three-seat edge, while in Alberta, the number of MLAs sitting in opposition to the Tory government has multiplied sixfold in five years. To some commentators, the coalition is unstoppable. "Mulroney will need an incredible feat to reverse the trend that is bound to overthrow his regime, too," wrote the Prime Minister's former press secretary, Michel Gauthier, in his op-ed column recently.

But at the same time, the period of Conservative dominance has left its mark on the Canadian political landscape. Despite the double-digit collapse of Tory governments across the nation, the cardinal points of conservative philosophy—fiscal responsibility, tax restraint, reliance on private enterprise—are no longer confined to the political right. Indeed, they are dominating the views of most Canadian voters that in both

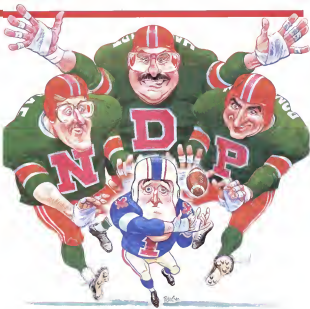
Saskatchewan and British Columbia, New Democratic Party campaigns adopted those themes in successful appeals to the political middle ground.

The rightward shift in Canada's political climate in the 1980s now poses a particular challenge to the new left governments that are about to take office in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, young Ontario, where the war came to power under Bob Rae as a surprise election victory last year. By some measures, these victories will give the NDP unprecedented influence: for the first time in Canadian history, New Democrats will govern more than half of the country's citizens—52 per cent—at the provincial level. That fact gives the three NDP premiers a powerful say in negotiations over the federal government's proposed overhaul of the Canadian Constitution, because changes must be approved by at least seven provinces containing 50 per cent of the population. But at least, riding by Rae's first year in government, Harcourt and Romanow will be forced to tread a delicate line between meeting the expectations of their longtime backers among labor and social activists and maintaining good relations with business.

Veterans: Noting that the Canadian public is no longer prepared to tolerate profligate spending or large government deficits, some Tories argue that, in fact, the NDP victories will improve their own party's chances in the next election. Former Mulroney adviser Dalton Camp, for one, says that the successful combination of governing with strict fiscal restraint will inevitably lend the NDP's appeal. "Self-Cause" "It's useful to have the new thing up to the same deficit problem that the federal government has had, and being accountable to the public. Let's see what they do differently."

But many other Conservatives say privately that they already consider their party doomed at the next federal election. For them, the collapse of support for provincial Conservatives reflects the public's judgment on such federal Tory policies as the Goods and Services Tax and the failed Meech Lake accord, as well as on the Prime Minister personally. Declared one disillusioned senior strategist for the Ontario Conservatives, who considered an coalition that he not be named. "I've been around the federal party on one level for the last two elections, and we just haven't. I can ask it: whether the provincial party for the federal party." Added the Ontario Tory: "It's a crisis point for the party. Our coalition is unraveling across the country. We may very well stand to exist at a significant lower after the next election."

Closely, at the pragmatic level of constituency politics, the loss of provincial power is certain to hamper any future Tory campaign. Recalling his own experience with Liberal losses, Fleming noted: "If



you've got a provincial government with lots of strong allies and ministers, it makes it easier to get things out on the street for a national election."

Some observers see a more benign message for the federal Tories in the series of provincial defeats. According to these analysts, Canadian voters instinctively reject provincial governments of a different political stripe than the one in Ottawa simply to provide a check on the unchecked exercise of federal power. Said Romanow federal Tory adviser James Gillies, now a professor of policy at York University in Toronto: "In our parliamentary system, there is nothing the opposition can do to stop the federal government from doing what it wants, and we have a fairly ineffective Senate. People expect gestures of a different party to shut the process out play the role of the real opposition."

Other Conservatives insist that the B.C. Securities and Devine's Tories—like Richard Blais's in New Brunswick in 1987—sawly fell victim to their own political beliefs. "They pollster Alan Gregg, head of

Decima Research, for one, argues that such pendulum swings between unpopular incumbents and opposition parties on the provincial level often take place every two terms—regardless of the federal cycle. Indeed, many members of the Prime Minister's cabinet insist publicly that they can still win re-election under Mulroney's leadership as a possible 1990 campaign. Declared Tory Senator Percy MacLeod: "Time will concentrate on if there is a rapprochement of the quality of Canada, and a pickup of the economy."

Devine: Whether the western elections are accelerating the Conservative decline or not, one thing seems clear: the NDP's ascension in three provinces during the past 13 months does not mean that the country has swung radically to the far left of the political spectrum. Instead, the provincial swings of the NDP have themselves moved towards the right to capture the loyalty of mainstream voters. The NDP shift has been evident in Ontario, where Rae's government has abandoned such cherished socialist goals as the introduction of public auto insurance,

recovery of a multimillion corporate tax and countering the trend of privatization of government assets. In the West, both Harcourt and Romanow campaigned largely on promises to balance the budgets in their respective provinces. Declared Romanow: "We have to live within our means. We're tired to death, and we cannot afford any more."

In fact, the modest taste of the two pro-

vince-designate was approved from even the most ardent fan of private enterprise. Read one U.S. government official who monitors Canadian affairs: "If you listen to Mr. Harcourt, he sounds like the next president of the Chamber of Commerce." Ontario Tory leader Michael Harris said that Romanow "is more conservative than any Conservative campaign that I've seen in Ontario for a long time—better my own."

But other analysts are circumspect at work as the NDP's weakness in British Columbia and Saskatchewan that run deeper than a simple voter disaffection from highly unpopular incumbents. Chief among them is the concern among Canadians of every political stripe that the country's social safety net, particularly medicare, is threatened because neither federal nor provincial governments can afford to pay for as many programs as they now operate. "The reason that Canadians are turning to New Democrats is that they are the ones they trust the most to preserve as much of the social safety net as possible," said Michael Adams, president of Romanow's Research Group, which did the state's polling in Saskatchewan. "They've earned the credibility as people who have fought for a broader, general social welfare system." It has also led us to us we can no longer afford certain things people will say. It must be so."

Anxiety about the future of social progress underlies the apparent popularity of Rae's proposal to protect the social safety net in the Constitution. According to one Romanow poll released in Oct. 16, the proposed social charter is the most popular idea for constitutional reform currently before the country. But while the three-NDP provincial leaders agree on many economic policies, they were actually to vote behind Rae's concept (page 38). Romanow, for one, qualified that word: that he will take advice on formulating his constitutional position from a constitutional assembly in British Columbia, rather than from his fellow NDP leaders. Still Harcourt: "There committed to a participatory process for the people of British Columbia."

Look Whatever those potential differences on the shape of a new Canada, the three provincial leaders enjoy very personal friendships. For his part, Rae first met Romanow in a noisy election in New Democrat MP in 1976, when the latter was attorney general in Saskatchewan's Social Reform government. Since that time, the two have gotten together for occasional games of tennis and golf. Harcourt, meanwhile, holds frequent telephone chats with his western counterpart—and telephone calls Romanow "a warm-up." The B.C. province-designate has this to say to know Rae at an NDP convention in Halifax in June. Harcourt, federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin and the Ontario premier cooked a lobster dinner together. Said Rae: "There is a good level of personal trust between us."

None, it estimates under whether the electoral triumphs of his provincial counterparts will boost McLaughlin's political fortunes in the next federal election. "Paradoxical idealization in this country has been destroyed," declared Gregg. "The electorate is so volatile, I've given up predicting." Still, few underestimate the importance of the NDP's success in the next election. But if the party does lose power in Ontario in the next election, history suggests that a federalist pact may well set the stage for a Tory return at the provinces.

PAUL KARELA with correspondence reports

KEEPING AN OPEN MIND

ROMANOW AVOIDS HARD LINES ON UNITY

The new role in the province began with Bill Rae in Ontario, gathered members with Michael Romanow's victory in British Columbia—and argued again last week with his Romanow's ineligibility in Saskatchewan. For Romanow, 52, the triumph capped a 24-year professional career in provincial politics, for the country it marked a crucial political realignment, with the new now governing 52 percent of the Canadian population. Last week, Romanow spoke to Maclean's Correspondent Gale Eklund about the prospects for co-operation with Ontario and B.C. counterparts—and what his priorities for his new province are.

Maclean's: Do you believe an NDP constitution has made up for the loss of the NDP?

Romanow: I don't believe it is a constitutional position as such because there are differences between the three of us. But I'm hopeful with respect to the non-constitutional side: maybe a far less than policy for the country, maybe an industrial strategy for the country, maybe some sort of screening mechanism for the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and its implications for the country. That is where there are greater possibilities for some agreement that could be advanced to the table that even then there will be differences. The word "fisc" is not totally appropriate because it implies some sort of predetermined, called positions. That, I think, does not work—and will not.

Maclean's: What will prevent the formation of a new constitutional alliance?

Romanow: What we have talked about thus far indicates there are some tricky aspects to negotiate. Rae is a strong advocate of an entrenched social charter. Harcourt is opposed to that and I stand to the Harcourt position, although I want to preserve the option or possibility that maybe a social charter could work. The Triple E Senate, which I have been laboring towards but remain open-minded, is another example. Ontario's got a problem here because it may be asked to come out

of new-configured Senate to have an equal number of representatives as say, Prince Edward Island or Saskatchewan. Right now, there is a sovereignty problem that waters the pattern. And the upcoming federal elections present some problems because they are now talking about a veto for Quebec and particularly Ontario and some other combination of provinces in regional level. That dissolves the dust of smaller provinces like us—and I still support the idea of equality of provinces.

Maclean's: What is your relationship with federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin?

Romanow: It's a good relationship. Because Audrey couldn't I don't say the critically of [Harcourt leader] Ed Broadbent, but this was one of the things a little bit lacking in the previous

era McLaughlin and I have differences, I think evidenced by the fact that in this province we know that the expectations of the high-finance world of the new very often have to be measured by the reality of day-to-day governance. But the differences are not deep because we talk our way through.

Maclean's: How do you see the NDP's role in the next?

Romanow: I think the moved-to provincial governments have moved a little bit to the right by pressure of office, deficit budgets, lack of revenues, job and unemployment concerns. That's the reality. But I think the federal NDP movement is still a more traditional position—although that might be disputed by Audrey. My point is that I don't think there is a universal new movement to the right.

Maclean's: Specifically has the Saskatchewan NDP moved to the right?

Romanow: Yes, I think that's true. In the 1970s, our world here was being created by the making of resources. Oil prices were high and the economy was booming. In the 1980s and 1990s the resource-based economies, by virtue of world export markets, have changed. And now we have the green crisis, which is a pressure of a different sort. All that now are according to fill the need for job and economic growth, which is occasioned by a slump in the non-resource market.

Maclean's: What are your government's top three priorities?

Romanow: The three main jobs and economic development. We'll use it rolling back the provincial sales tax to help to kickstart the economy. I fear that the deficit budget situation is going to really throw a major monkey wrench into the works.

Maclean's: Are you going to guard against getting consumed by the small but real deficit?

Romanow: I'm going to guard against it. I did a series of informal media interviews and invariably the subject was the Constitution. I keep an saying, "We're losing focus out here, can somebody turn this on this issue?" I assume I will take responsibility for the Constitution myself—but it will be very, very limited issue."

Romanow: the firm crisis comes ahead of the Constitution



VOLATILE PATTERNS OF POWER

Twenty-one years ago this fall, liberal party governments ruled half of the provinces in what the author Ty told 1973, the party had not yet won. The Liberals came back last January in 1993, but viewed political setbacks in the provinces for the next years. Conservative (Roth) of some provincial governments helped to set up the Tory federal landslide in 1984. At the wheel we turned again, and more slowly to the left. With the Liberals regaining national ground and the NDP rising in Ontario and the West, Tory regional power has been reduced in three provinces with 37 per cent of the province's—re-elected lowest 38 in last a century.

1970



1984



1991



NDP Liberal PC Social Credit Parti Québécois

THE POLITICS OF RESTRAINT

ROY ROMANOW PLEDGES A LEAN NDP

As the premium-designate was back off the press at acting on his obligations. One day after leading the trip to a landslide victory that ended nine years of Conservative rule in Saskatchewan, Roy McManis was seen smiling at a lot of his friends and supporters. Some of them were "immediate affairs" and will be less in crisis, job, the deficit and mounting confidence in our premier and political system." The emphasis on economic issues illustrated the way in which the Saskatchewan government has been able to do good but has managed to overturn conventional political wisdom. By preaching fiscal restraint, the economic orthodoxy of Ronald Reagan, Saskatchewan's first socialist premier, presented himself as an alternative to the Great Depression. The province's annual deficit of \$2.2 billion after two terms in office. Observed Delmar Stelmach, an accountant and president of the Regina Chamber of Commerce: "People did not perceive Delmar as a socialist kind of person. They don't see him as a socialist kind of person."

Rowing and sports teams helped the team to draw support from every corner of the province as the party won 55 of the 46 seats in the Legislature. The Tories took only 39 seats, including Deputy's Estevan riding, while Liberal Leader Lloyd Stinsonback, whose party made large gains in the popular vote if not in seats, won in the riding of Saskatoon/Greyhound. At week's end, Stinsonback was assembling the team of ministers and advisers who will run the transition into government. And as in most things, the premier-designate will weigh his choices thoroughly. Stinsonback favors David Craig, who served as federal minister of health, over a former Liberal MP, John Horgan. "I'd like to be careful. I've many more ducks the idea of making such a switch."

Repression: Caution and guidance are two of Romanow's key character traits. Born in Seattle in 1909 as the second child of Ukrainian immigrants, Romanow grew up in that city's ethnically diverse west end. Romanow's family spoke only Ukrainian at home; he learned English on the streets and later at school. His political education began almost in infancy. Romanow's father, Michael, a CIO union hard hat, fled from Ukraine in 1928 to escape Soviet repression. Romanow recalls listening as a child to his father's friends talk animatedly about the political situation in Ukraine—and

image helped Bonhoeffer when he became involved in partisan politics in the early 1940s while studying law at the University of Saskatchewan. Bonhoeffer, who had grown up listening to live radio broadcasts of Tammy Douglas speaking in the Saskatchewan legislature, finally met his political hero when the former premier started the camp. Bonhoeffer was greatly impressed when Douglas, who had just been elected federal leader of the PCs, delivered a spirited defence of his medicine program before a hostile assembly crowd. Shortly after that address, Bonhoeffer, who had also served as Douglas's chamberlain during his visit to the U of S campus, found the way

In October, 1967, after working for three years as a private labor lawyer, Romanow won a seat in the Saskatchewan legislature. In 1970, at age 31, he made his first bid for the party leadership, narrowly losing to Allan Rockwell. After Rockwell led the NDP to power in 1971, he appointed Romanow attorney general and deputy premier. Quickly earning a reputation as a fiery orator, Romanow steered some of the party's most controversial measures through the legislature—including a 1976 bill to nationalize the province's natural resources.

Fremont But his influence went beyond his native prairie. He rose to national prominence the late 1970s in Saskatchewan's post war during the explosive battles over joining the Constitution in November, 1981, during a round of federal-provincial negotiations. Regional decline at night with Liberal Jean Chretien, then the federal minister of justice, and Conservative Roy McMurtry, then Ontario's attorney general, in a kitchen debate of the

Stell, Remarque's time in the national spotlight was short-lived. Only nine days after the publication of the *Conférence* petition in April, 1962, the MSP suffered a devastating election defeat at the hands of Dénys's Com-

servations. Rumanow, who lost his own seat by a 15-vote margin in a 20-year-old Tory political system, resumed his career in labor law and co-authored a book on the peacetime battle. While Fluksey devoted to ship down in 1987, Rumanow won the leadership by referendum.

The great Rumsfeld is much like the public man. "I am what you call a typical Canadian," he said earlier, somewhat defensively, "to tell Markham's Sports Centre in person: he likes to go, play tennis and basketball, and is an avid fan of the Toronto Blue Jays. He is also a voracious reader of newspapers and novels—Doris Lessing and Kurt Vonnegut are among his favorite authors. His musical tastes range from country and western to classical. His wife of 24 years, Eleanor—they have no children—is a painter and is active in the Sikhistan arts community. But she keeps a very distance from politics—a world that she once described as 'the great messiah.'"

True to its nature, *Romance* conducted a massive election campaign that stressed the need for government belittlement. He promised to halve the provincial budget within his first term in office. His government was proposing a deficit of \$350 million, or 14.5 per cent of the gross national product. And he was promising to give away to a 15-year plan to eliminate the province's accumulated debt. But he offered few details on how he would achieve either goal. His one bold stroke, in fact, will reduce revenue, not be promised to increase. The Devine government's decision to extend the provincial sales tax to all items covered by the federal Goods and Services Tax. With *Romance*'s warning—and while taxpayers debate the wisdom of their action—*Romance* is already busy, he says, collecting the expensive toll on his last day of last week's past regency.

The private-depositors moved quickly on other fronts to seek in government expendi-

Research relating to divorcees

turns. For one thing, he promised to appoint independent commissioners to conduct a 90-day audit of the government's books. He also said that the new cabinet will include only ministers—compared with Devinder's 18—who will be expanded only when the province can afford it. Declared Ransome: "What people want is not more government, but better government."

Like their leader, many of the vice m.

selected last week have experience in both government and opposition. Likely cabinet choices include three former Ministry of Defense ministers—Edwin Tychoniewski, Edward (Ned) Skillington and Dusan Lapsienko. Another is Robert Marzec, a former law partner of Romanow's who was first elected in 2005. As well, Romanow will likely want to place some of the 12 women in his cabinet in key cabinet or party positions.

Wealth is Romney's quarterly column in a growing donor base given him a wide network of political contacts. Jackiewicz, a former Democratic cabinet member and now the state's chief executive officer, will be a key member in the transition team. University of Virginia political scientist, Howard Leason, a former deputy assistant under Romney who was dismissed by the DeWane government, will likely be a close adviser. Two potentially influential Romney associates are Eugene W. McCarthy, a former Romney constitutional adviser in Romney who is a former dean of law at Quinn's University in Kingston, Conn., and John Kucinski, a former left-leaning Bostonite who is now co-chairman of the Romney campaign. McCarthy, 53, and John Kucinski, 50, believe Romney, now known that the GOP has been conservative on wealth creation rather than wealth redistribution.

After spending most of his adult life in politics, Rosemary says that he is barely aware of the cynicism and disdain that many Canadians now feel for his chosen profession. "We are all trapped in an image of politics as a bunch of talking heads," he says. "What can anyone do about it—good and honorable acts that won't change the political process?" After a long and patient apprenticeship, the immigrant's son from Saskatchewan is finally in a position to demonstrate that he can make a difference.

BRIAN DUNHAM with JILL ELLIS and
KAY BOWEN as Susan

CHRETIEN STAYS AT HIS DESK

In most cases, favorable political trends through agencies—be it a federal law or the state's strong showing by the Libertarian, resulting from absence in office appointments the Oct. 17 provincial elections and last week's impressive vote gains by the Saskatchewan Liberals, appeared to hold little reflected glory for federal opposition leader Jean Charest. Indeed, a small Charest aide said that the leader has been "too busy" to campaign for his provincial counterparts. And in both cases, the provincial parties had emphasized their unwillingness to offer change from the Canadian political status quo. Still D.C. Liberal leader Gordon Wilson: "We demonstrate that we are prepared to embrace a new bold and new direction." Wilson denies Liberals show the same attitude. He adds:

Other chapters of electrical sciences very scarce

Deviant changes have to be elected to defend Liberal party under Charleton's leadership. Internal rivalry among party organizations and apparent division by Charleton to win and hope that the Ministry government will be a success, have caused party debate and some internal top officials to the situation. Charleton's ally Michael Robinson resigned in 1994. Former Liberal cabinet minister David Johnston, whose term in party president ended last spring, says that he did not see second terms. Party leaders say that both sides have become disenchanted with Charleton's lack of policy focus and the inability of Liberal forces to work together.

Even the party's success in the opinion polls is not inspiring enthusiasm. According to a poll released two weeks ago by Gallup Canada, 39 per cent of decided voters support the Liberals, compared with 25 per cent for the NDP, 13 per cent for the ruling Tories and 10 per cent for the western-based Reform party. But some senior Liberals say that means voters

may simply be parking their votes with the party and a better alternative comes along. According to one disgruntled Liberal, the first-place party is "the country's largest parking lot."

Through Liberals are clearly aware of that perspective. In Saskatchewan, the party increased its popular support from 10 per cent in 1990 to 23 per cent last week—more than 30 parties behind the second-place Tories—with a platform that echoed federal Reform party policies. Among key Liberal promises: a taxpayers' protection act, a salary freeze for politicians and free votes in the legislature. B.C. Liberals also opted an independent course. Todd Waino, "We are going to fight very hard to make sure there are no reforms within both the doctrine of the federal party and its values." From Ottawa's perspective, appearance of gains at the provincial level could be deceiving.

E. KAYE FULDON and
CLYDE ELLIOTT in Chicago

A NEW NATIONAL VOICE

NDP VICTORIES CHANGE THE UNITY EQUATION

For Saskatchewan's new premier, last week's victory at the polls will lead to greater influence. Ten years ago this month, Roy Romanow was Saskatchewan's attorney general and minister of inter-governmental affairs. He was also one of three politicians—along with then-federal Justice Minister Jean Chretien and Ontario's attorney general at the time, Roy McMillan—who met in a small huddle in the Ottawa Conference Centre and devised a constitutional deal that saw out of 10 provinces agreed to sign. Only Quebec refused, leaving a legacy of bitterness among the province's political elite, each of it divided at Romanow and Chretien. Now, Romanow, as well as fellow New Democrat premier Bob Rae of Ontario and British Columbia's newly-elected Michael Harcourt, will have a crucial role to play as Canada tries to repair the rift that began with that now-famous "huddle accord." And for Romanow, in time, that task clearly carries the opportunity to complete unfinished business. Said the premier-disgraced after his victory last week: "We are likely to see a constitutional deal made with any province left out, especially Quebec."

Three months were allotted to be negotiators. But they may have missed their mark for at least one hard-line Quebec nationalist, author and former Parti Québécois minister Claude Manu accused Romanow of having "betrayed" Quebec in 1981. The rift was not an illusion, that the addition of two New Democrats to the first ministers' table will sharply alter the state-of-play of discussions there. For one thing, the three NDP premiers share the task, taken together, represent 50 per cent of the nation's population. If they act in concert, they have the power to reshape the Constitution in effectively block any proposed reform—changes require the support of at least seven provinces with at least 50 per cent of the population.

Wedge: As well, each of the new premier-disgraced have made it clear that they will allow voters a strong role in determining their constitutional position. But his part, Harcourt declared his intent to allow British Columbians to consider any proposed constitutional reform in a constituent assembly—and to approve or reject them in a province-wide referendum. Romanow's mandate, said the would-be approach the renewed constitutional debate "with an open mind," but cautioned that the dam crack in his province had a higher priority for his incoming new government.

And the two western new leaders are clearly not going to be alone in placing their province's

priorities first in constitutional negotiations. Ontario's Rae, premier since September, 1990, has also made it clear that he plans to defend his province's interests, if necessary, even while Ontario's traditional role as a mediator among the other provinces.

Still, in the weeks ahead, Harcourt, Romanow and Rae will agree on some issues and hit at each other on others. Ironically, one measure that already seems unlikely to win their united support is Rae's suggestion that a so-called social charter be included in the Constitution. According to the Ontario premier, such a charter would guarantee Canadians' right to such social benefits as adequate housing, education and health care. Harcourt and Romanow—while both stressing the importance of social programs—have expressed doubts about whether such a guarantee belongs in the Constitution. By contrast, all three NDP leaders have expressed concerns about federal proposals to strengthen core measures in the Constitution aimed at reinforcing the Canadian economy's union. They also agree on the need for substantial anti-government

Quebec: Less clear is whether the two can reach a common position on the way to recognize Quebec as a distinct society. That recognition is a landmark issue in Quebec, where most commentators admit that it must be included in a new Constitution without condition. Ontario's Rae has supported an equalized and distinct society clause since 1981, a crucial element of the Meech Lake accord. Both of his new NDP colleagues, however, are less supportive. Harcourt, after his election, acknowledged that Quebec is "a distinct society in the latest of its legends, culture and language." But he also said that it must be included in the latest federal formula for reform. But Harcourt has also said that he opposes any wording that might confer special status on Quebec. Romanow, meanwhile, has criticized Ontario for proposing to place the clause in the body of the Constitution instead of the preamble—where to legal impact would be smaller—before to legal impact would be smaller.

Clearly, though, the New Democrat leaders are most wary of the economic changes proposed in the federal government's plan. One federal proposal would limit the Bank of Canada's role in managing the economy to fighting inflation, leaving it without a specific mandate to address the NDP's priority of reducing unemployment. A more sweeping change would lessen the full weight of the Constitution behind the federal Conservatives' declared goal of striking down all barriers to the free movement of goods, services, people and capital among



the provinces. That, Romanow has objected, could severely restrict an NDP provincial government's ability to use incentives to encourage industries to locate within its borders. Harcourt plainly agrees, asserting, "I definitely want to see the banning of trade barriers between provinces, but I also want to make sure that it's a level playing field. A lot of provinces talk it, but don't practice it." For his part, Rae has expressed support for the goal of a more open economic union—but said it is driven primarily to compete nationally with one another for investment. According to Rae, the federal formula could tempt some provinces to cut spending on social programs in order to be able to reduce taxes and attract additional investment.

It is just that risk, Rae argues, that makes a social charter embedded in the Canadian Constitution necessary. Without such a constitu-

tional obligation on governments to maintain social programs, the Ontario premier said during an appearance in Ottawa in October, "We will become a nation and not a civilized country." Rae's proposal would guarantee Canadians' right to receive adequate health care, education, housing, income security, a clean environment and the basic necessities of life. Public support for such a charter is high: a Toronto *Star*/CTV poll in October found that 85 per cent of respondents pulled out a social

charter should not, in general, transfer power from their fellow citizens to make these decisions." Romanow has also expressed his preference for leaving "social policy within the realm of politics" rather than a court-enforced charter backed, even the Ontario government acknowledges how undesirable it would be to have judges deciding what social services governments should provide. In a discussion paper on the subject released in September, Ontario's New Democrats suggested that a social charter should not, in general, transfer power from

from clear that constitutional changes offer the most effective protection for social rights. The Ottawa Constitution, for one, guarantees the right of every family to decent housing and of every worker to a minimum wage sufficient to meet the "normal material, social and cultural needs of the head of a family." Still, values of Mexican origin: here, inheritance wages while living in substandard, without running water or sanitation.

Whatever their reservations about it, the



Rae (left), homeless people in a Toronto shelter: concern that constitutional proposals endanger social programs

proved of the concept of a social charter.

But other politicians and legal experts are markedly less enthusiastic. For one thing, they say, the current constitutional agenda is already crowded enough without the addition of complex new considerations like a social charter. Confirmed one senior Ontario bureaucrat to Marlowe's "Is it practical? And how?"

At the same time, some critics—including Harcourt—express concern that an enshrined social charter could empower the courts to strip governments of the ability to provide services without any regard for the cost. Said Harcourt, "I don't want judges making these decisions. I want elected people who are accountable to

elected representatives to the courts. As the same time, Ontario has proposed that the courts be allowed to enforce such rights as universal access to medicine. Budgets on more specific benefits, such as eligibility for welfare, would be left up to another institution—possibly a reformed Senate.

Rights: There are numerous precedents for such a social charter. Indeed, Japan, Switzerland and Germany are among the wealthy industrialized nations that have already entrenched social rights in their constitutions. Over, less affluent nations have also done so, among these Ireland, Turkey and Mexico. The rights enshrined in those cases range from such basics as free primary education to more sophisticated social programs, including unemployment and maternity insurance. But it is far

other NDP leaders are likely to find Rae's proposed charter difficult to endorse. For one thing, it is deeply aimed at the social concerns that lie at the heart of New Democrats' philosophy. As well, Ontario's premier has made it clear that he is ready to link his province's agreement to other constitutional agreements—namely the economy—to concessions in favor of some form of social charter. The new NDP leaders may feel drawn to all in concert on the constitutional issue. But if Harcourt and Romanow follow Rae's lead in leaving their own demands to the table, they may well succeed only in making an already difficult task even more complex.

NANCY WOOD is Ottawa with DALE KESLER in Regina and MARY JANSSEN in Toronto.



Harkness: 'A totally socialist economy doesn't work; a mixed economy is the way'

A PRAGMATIST TAKES POWER

HARCOURT AIMS AT WEALTH CREATION

In the Oct. 17 B.C. provincial election, Michael Harkness led the New Democrats to a convincing victory that crushed the premiership's governing Social Credit party. Last week, after the NDP's overwhelming win in Saskatchewan, Harkness spoke with Maclean's *Kenneth R. Ross* (left) about Canada's changing political landscape and the challenges that lie ahead in the years ahead. *Ross*

Maclean's: Could you, *My Romance* and *Ontario's* new Premier Bill Raitt from a New Democratic view during the coming constitutional talks?

Harkness: People thinking that there is going to be a tri-king are taking a very shallow look at Canada. What is good for Bay Street isn't necessarily good for Main Street in Prince George. Our circumstances are different; our economies are different, to some extent our cultures are different. I think you will find that we will be taking care of our own provincial jurisdictions within our common desire to re-unite and re-new Canada. A reconstituted Canada is fundamentally important, but I am not concerned by the Constitution. We have to change, but I think the economic, circumstan-

tal and social issues are equally important. **Maclean's:** How closely is your small-business agenda linked to that of the federal NDP?

Harkness: Well, I don't think that it's as big an item at Central Canada to have Senate reform as it is in British Columbia and the West. It is very important here that there be an elected Senate that effectively represents regional interests and is, if not equal, certainly equitable. I don't think that equal representation is coming down the pipe. But British Columbia having six senators out of 104 with three million people is going to be much more aware when we have ten million people in 20 or 30 years.

Maclean's: The small business is a social democrat, rather than a socialist. Have you shifted to the right?

Harkness: What we have done is, in the cold light of dawn, looked at a very tough competitive world. We've looked at old policies—nationalizing industries, spending below what we earned, deficit financing [balancing that] profits are evil not good, theories that don't have any relevance in the world we're living in—and checked those. A totally socialist economy doesn't work, a mixed economy is the ideal model. I am going to be driven by wealth

creation in an ecologically viable and sustainable way. With us, the first priority is to create more business opportunities, have more jobs being created, more enterprises started by entrepreneurs. British Columbia, expand our trade. Then you have the resources, you need to have high-quality social services. I think we are extremely current, and that is why the people give us the mandate.

Maclean's: Do you see an end to the Tory cycle in Canadian politics after the election of three provincial NDP governments?

Harkness: No, I think they all happened for different reasons. I think the people of Ontario were affected by the arrogance of James Earl [former Liberal premier] David Peterson calling an election when there was no justification for it. And Grant Tinker had just run his streak out and lost his legitimacy. And here, British Columbia voted for change for the obvious reasons of the Soviet situation. I'm not sure the same thing will happen in other provinces, or what level of a Peterson we will see in Ontario in 1993. But there is a tide of change. People really are fed up with the old style politics with people being dealt out—not us.

Maclean's: What are your top priorities?

Harkness: There are really five. There are a prosperous economy, clean, honest government, cleaning up the environment, reforming the health-care system to concentrate on prevention and a quality social service network including quality education, which is the best investment you can make in the future.

Maclean's: Bob Rae has travelled to New York City in an effort to manage the fears of Wall Street about his government. Do you think it necessary to make a similar trip?

Harkness: In mid-November, I will be travelling to Tokyo and Hong Kong to carry the message that we are open for business. I am making arrangements to attend the annual international trade convention in Denver, Switzerland, in February. Hopefully, I will go to New York as well. I will also be going to various European capitals to communicate that we welcome business and to tell them the ground rules on tax pay and protecting the environment. Half of our economy is based on credit so if you're not out there trading, you're not doing your job. But first, I want to visit up my debts and get to work here—getting the government and the books in order.

Maclean's: You received 41 per cent of the popular vote in the election. What can you do over the next four years to win over other British Columbians?

Harkness: We certainly won't have the luxury of electron-drawn spending and the people are suffering too fatigue. So we have a very narrow stage and we will have to make tough decisions. But by balancing the budget and by giving the people good, open and honest government, it will be appreciated.

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Protect The Environment,
Rediscover Romance And...

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Fuel economy shown based on EPA model. Excludes Canada ratings.

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Israeli soldiers and settlers in the Golan Heights; Sharmir (opposite): more acrimony in advance of a peace conference

WORLD

DAYS OF RECKONING

As his castle in Madrid burned to the ground on Christmas night in 1734, Spain's King Philip V spent the rest of his life building an enormous 500-room palace made of granite and limestone. Known as the Royal Palace, its priceless treasures and collection of armor make it a monument to the splendor and conquest of the old Spanish monarchy. This week, it's said to be the most beautiful place in the first time ever, actually suspicious Israeli and Arab delegations will all draw, beneath charity celebrations, to explore the prospects for ending 43 years of war and violence reconstruction in the Middle East. With each side vowing not to yield to the other, the likelihood of a quick peace agreement seems remote. However, says U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, "I really want to see this process move forward." For the most part, the people involved really want to see this process move forward.

**AFTER MORE THAN
FOUR DECADES OF
HOSTILITIES, ARABS
AND ISRAELIS ARE
SITTING DOWN TO
DISCUSS PEACE**

But on the eve of the scheduled opening of the U.S.-Soviet-sponsored Middle East peace conference on Oct. 30, which President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev planned to attend, there was no

evidence that Baker's guarded optimism was shared by any of the 38-member delegation representing Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and nearly two dozen Western nations. Baker said he was confident that the Arab leaders would agree to meet that they will not make Jordan's offer. Baker means the Israeli attack in the 1967 Six Day War, the Golan Heights, the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River. For that part, the Israelis have and repeatedly that they will not discuss land until the Arabs recognize the Jewish state's right to exist peacefully and perhaps not even then. Privately, spokesmen for both sides have said that the only reason they agreed to the conference at all was to please Washington, which has pushed aggressively for a reconciliation since the end of the Persian Gulf War last February.

In fact, the relationship between the long-time constant becomes more asymmetric as the

conference drew nearer. Because Israel refuses to talk to the Palestine Liberation Organization, Baker obtained assurances from PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat that one of the Palestinians chosen to attend the conference is a PLO member. Then, on Oct. 23, Palestinian delegate Saeb Erekat, a 26-year-old lecturer at the

senior Israeli Ambassador to the United States, and a U.S. television news anchor, that his group had been chosen by the Israeli Foreign Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, accused by saying that Israel would win away from the conference rather than negotiate with its representatives. That speaker led Israel's delegation, the 20-year-old leader of a Palestinian advisory panel travelling to Madrid with the official delegation, to declare that only he or his chief spokesman was empowered to comment officially on behalf of the group. In Cairo, *Amr* and the other members of the PLO had been able to get into the hotel, but not to sit at the table. It was not clear whether the Palestinians who had come

While the two sides scouted at each other, the Spanish government prepared to deploy 12,000 police and paramilitary civil guards at Madrid's Barajas International Airport, along major streets, at hotels and around the Royal Palace. Police sealed the palace's entrance.

underground tunnels, once used by Spanish kings for secret nighttime outings in pursuit of women at the camaraderie of a city tavern. Each delegation will take its own headquarters, but U.S. and Soviet agents will be jointly responsible for security inside the palace.

Widespread, and even violent, opposition to the conference likely contributed to the scale of the underrepresentation. Libya, long regarded by the West as a haven for Islamic extremists, has denounced the peace process. In Tehran, the Islamic Republic News Agency quoted Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati as saying that the only solution to the Palestinian issue was the elimination of Israel. The pro-Iranian *Khablat*, a Shiite Muslim nationalistic newspaper in Lebanon, killed three men and wounded a fourth in a bombing attack that is linked to the peace talks. And Iran's *Jamhuri Jahad* newspaper issued a veiled threat of terrorist attacks against Israel for hosting the conference.

In Israel, outraged Zionists, those raised on the idea of Jewish self-defense, saw the Palestinian groups' demands as a gross provocation. In a letter to the conference's opening, Arafat and Shalal, leader of the militant Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command, said that the Palestinians' delegates to the talks had condemned themselves to death. Said Shalal: "Our people will judge them; they will not forgive them." By contrast, the peace talks drew the support of the old-right Likud Party, which had stopped financing PLO operations against Israel since Arafat declared his support for Israel President Shimon Peres. Likud's support for the talks was in combination with the U.S.-led coalition.

But there was opposition to the Madrid conference in Israel, as well. By placing himself last week at the head of an Israeli delegation dominated by hard-liners, the 76-year-old Shamir aggravated his own political problems.



Arday's latest move may not be the most right-wing step in his political career, but it is a clear signal of his intentions for negotiating with the Palestinians. Shinar elevated the position of the Minister of Education, David Levy, from his previous position of Minister of Health. Levy has emphasized the potential gains, rather than the risks, of peace negotiations. Although Levy remained silent, Arday said that he was soon to challenge Shinar for the Likud party leadership. Arday's word, Shinar tried to strike a positive note, telling an interviewer in Jerusalem that Israel, while trying to find its own ways at the conference, would also be prepared to listen.

The conference agenda calls for an opening round of statements by Bush, Gorbachev and the heads of the Israeli and Arab delegations. Then, the plan calls for the Israelis to hold direct but separate peace talks with the Lebanese and German delegations, as well as with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian team. The third

World Notes

A FORCE OFFENSIVE

Tougher army generals and army artillery rained shells on the historic port city of Dubrovnik, forcing thousands of Croatian civilians into retreat. It was the heaviest battle since the start of a more than three-week siege of the Croatian city that has cut tens of thousands of people off from the outside world and left them with little water and electricity. At week's end, the warring sides agreed to a ceasefire around Dubrovnik to allow trapped citizens to leave.

DISASTERS IN CALIFORNIA

brushless race across hillsides at the eastern edge of Oakland and Berkeley, destroying nearly 3,000 expensive houses and apartments and leaving at least 24 people dead and 25 missing. Officials estimated that the damage could reach \$4 billion, and President George Bush declared the blizzard into a federal disaster, making the victims eligible for government assistance. The death count was certain to rise as fire crews searched through the smoldering debris scattered over nearly two-square miles of largely red estate.

PLANNING ON RAPIDS

Britain's highest appeals court ruled that a man can be guilty of raping his spouse. The court dismissed a last appeal by a man seeking to overturn a three-year jail term for trying to rape his estranged wife. In London, Women Against Rape representatives Claire Gilmour said that the decision "unravels 350 years of legal sexual slavery."

A NUCLEAR DISPUTE

Karachi's independent daily newspaper *Dawn* reported that Pakistan's top nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadeer Khan, had declared that the country is now a nuclear-weapon power. Khan later denied making the remark. Last year, the United States suspended all military and economic aid to Pakistan, which American officials claimed was trying to produce weapons-grade uranium.

A WIDOW IN THE GALAXY

In his third bid for the White House since 1976, former California governor Edmund (Jerry) Brown joined five others in the race when he announced his candidacy for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination. Brown, 53, who earned the nickname Governor Moonbeam for his eccentricities during his two terms in office during the 1970s and early 1980s, lost the 1976 and 1980 presidential contests to Jimmy Carter.



phase of the discussions is scheduled to begin on Nov. 13, when all the Arab states are expected to join together in talks with the Israeli government that include inter-control, the environment and water supplies. However, the Syrians have said that they will not join that initiative if plans allow Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories—which Shalal refers to as—and they are strong to persuade the other Arab states to boycott those meetings as well.

The foreign ministers of the Arab nations met in Damascus Oct. 23 and 24 and agreed to take a common stand toward Israel at the peace conference. In a statement read to reporters after their session, the ministers said that their main aim was "to ensure Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory, including Jerusalem, to left Israeli settlements immediately and to ensure the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people." The United States has been urging Israel to adopt a peace formula that would incorporate land for peace.

Yet within those broad goals, the Arab delegations all have slightly different priorities. Middle East observers said that the Jordanians and Palestinians will try to negotiate the broadest possible autonomy for the Palestinians as an intermediary step towards persuading Israel to relinquish the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Egyptians would be eager to see a Palestinian state in a Jordanian-Palestinian condominium. About 1.4 million Arabs live under military government in the occupied territories.

The Jordanians and Palestinians will also dispute the Israeli position that the status of Jerusalem is not negotiable. They will fight, observers say, for a measure of Arab sovereignty in the eastern part of the city, governed by Jordan until 1967 and annexed by Israel a month after the Six Day War that same year. Jerusalem has a population of about 560,000, of whom two-thirds are Jews and one-third Arabs. The Jordanian delegation will also seek a so-called right of return for the Palestinians acquired by the knowledge of the Jewish state in 1948, or at least some form of compensation, although that long-standing demand seems to be less central to their immediate agenda. Jordan itself said it ruled it out of the Hashemite kingdom from 1949 to 1957. Egypt ruled Gaza from 1968 to 1967, but did not annex it.

The most ambitious goal of the Syrians is to recover the Golan Heights, which Israel took from Syria. Damascus began its government annexed in 1966. So far, Syria has said

that it will not take part in the multilateral negotiations on regional problems unless the Golan Heights are returned. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad apparently hopes that tactic will induce U.S. pressure on Israel. Middle East analysts say that Syria appears to be offering Israel a partnership of non-belligerence rather than a peace treaty.

Lebanon, a small partner in the proceedings, would like to see Israeli troops withdrawn from the 10-km-deep security zone in the north of the country, which would allow Lebanese President Elias Hrawi to extend his authority

series." Neither the Arab nations nor the United States has ever accepted Israeli occupation. However, members of Shalal's Loyal party have suggested that Israel might be willing to give the Golan Heights back to Syria because they do not consider it religiously important. Ironically, there is less support for that concession among some moderate Lebanese politicians, who consider the Golan essential to the defense of the Galilee.

Middle East experts say that the participants in the Madrid conference were persuaded to attend by objectives that have little to do



Madrid's Royal Palace as a backdrop for a historic meeting between longtime enemies

to the international border. Israel has said that it will not withdraw until Syria agrees to 40,000 troops from Lebanon. But now, analysts say, Israel might be willing to trade a pullout for a Syrian withdrawal from the Golan valley in eastern Lebanon.

Egypt, which in 1979 became the only Arab state to have signed a peace treaty with Israel, wants the Jewish state to fulfill its Camp David agreement by making a greater effort to help the Palestinians. One of those agreements, facilitated by then-President Jimmy Carter, required negotiations for Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel says that it wants peace treaties with all of its neighbors. But Shalal's right-wing coalition has insistently argued that peace is possible without sacrificing what it regards as historical Jewish rights. It insists on a permanent right of return for Jews and non-Jews displaced by the Jordan River and the Mediterranean sea. Israel maintains that by returning the Sinai peninsula to Egypt in 1982, it fulfilled its obligations under the UN Security Council resolution requiring it to withdraw from land it occupied. That resolution, Israeli says, is "entirely generous to 'territories' and 'all terri-

ties with peace. They said that many Israelis are disturbed by the Arab administration's apparent lack of commitment to the Jewish state at a time when it is a case dependent than ever on American aid for the absorption of hundreds of thousands of Soviet and Ethiopian refugees. And Israeli papers have agreed to attend the conference partly to find all a further avenue of American support. Syria, no longer able to rely on the formerly troubled Soviet Union for arms, is trying to establish its participation in the U.S.-led war with Iraq. And the Jordanians and the Saudis are anxious to have Washington forget that they backed Saddam Hussein. As for James Baker, the architect of this week's drama in Madrid, it was a time for caution as a historically chaotic region. Said Baker: "Let's not lose sight of the fact that we're dealing with the Middle East." As Arab and Israeli emotions prepared to all down for their first face-to-face negotiations, a hopeful mood was not likely to do so.

BARB CROSSLAND with TOM ARROW
and JACQUELINE HUNTER in Jerusalem
and corresponding reports



Beirut residents in an outdoor café trying to live down a reputation for lawlessness

On the streets of Beirut At the heart of the storm

It may never be possible to restore the glamour and elegance to a place as once as the Pearl of the Mediterranean. Much of Beirut still lies in ruins a year after the end of Lebanon's civil war. And the long shadow of the black-headed Shiite militants who randomly kidnapped Western residents throughout the 1980s still haunts the country as it struggles to emerge from beneath the rubble of war. But there is cause for optimism. Last week, the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine released 44-year-old American computer scientist and nuclear scientist, Kenneth James Turner—the fourth hostage to pass freedom since August as a result of complicated U.S.-brokered negotiations. Four other Americans, two Germans, a British and an Italian marine captive, still there in a newsweek-long fight that they could say end soon. Virginia Stone, whose husband, Alan, a journalist professor kidnapped along with Turner in January, 1987, said she was from her home in Cleveland, Ohio, that she refuses to raise her expectations. But she added: "There is some talking going on now, and in Beirut, the shelling has stopped, thank God—the strangeness of relative calm is a helpful sign."

Whether Stone and her fellow hostages see their freedom as well determine whether Lebanon can regain the confidence of Western governments and private businesses, and rebuild itself as a country. It was before the civil war erupted in 1975. But the Turner's countrymen have with. Both, the process of renewal has already begun. She and her four-year-old daughter, Joanne, born five months after her father was captured, flew from their home in Boston, Mass., last week to meet Turner in Germany, where he was under going tests at a U.S. military hospital.

"He is in good health," she told reporters after being reunited with her husband. "We will continue our life as a family again from the point where we stopped."

That reunion and a series of other hostage exchanges since August were choreographed by Giandomenico Picco, the United Nations' special Middle East envoy. Israel holds an estimated 10,000 Palestinians prisoner for their alleged role in the 1982/83, or spring, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It also retains more than 300 Arab prisoners captured in Lebanon. Israel agreed to free some of these in exchange for the return, or proof of death, of some of its servicemen who went missing in Lebanon between 1982 and 1986. Under Picco's negotiating efforts, Israel recently released 68 Arabs in exchange for the remains of six Israeli servicemen and evidence that two others had died. Four others remain unaccounted for. The hostages' fathers, meanwhile, released British John McCurtain and Jack Mann, American Edward Tracy and, most recently, Turner.

Even as the hostage negotiations continued, MacKenzie's Correspondent Alan Thompson found on a recent visit to Lebanon that residents are struggling to rebuild their battle-scarred country. Most Lebanese now talk about their 15-year civil war in the past tense. Although skirmishes between rival militias have continued over the past year, the pitched military battles that regularly lit up the sky across the Golan have ended. Last week Beirut from the Maronite Christian East came to an end on Oct. 23, 1990. On that day, Lebanese Christian soldiers, backed by 40,000 Syrian troops, forced rebel Christian militan-

men to surrender and their leader, Gen. Michel Aoun, to seek asylum in the French Embassy (he is now in France). The Syrian-backed army extended their control over most of Lebanon. Omar Baram, an engineer who stayed in Beirut throughout the war even as his friends fled to Paris and Montreal, and recently. "I think it's really over this time."

Many Lebanese are taking advantage of the new peace to revert parts of the country long cut off by the fighting. During the war, it used to take half a day on dangerous mountain roads to drive the 70 km from West Beirut to Baalbek in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, where the pro-Israeli Maronite (Party of God), widely thought to be the Catholic group for most of the hostage-takers, set up its headquarters. Now that roads through the Christian sector have reopened, the trip takes only 90 minutes.

Tourists, most of them Lebanese, but including a few French, Swiss and other foreigners, are flocking to Baalbek to see the 2,000-year-old towering granite ruins of three Roman temples. Before the war, such resorts as the Zila Fitzgerald and Ginger Rogers used to perform on the temple steps. Now, Syrian troops keep the peace in Baalbek, although they have not driven the Maronite fighters from their bases there. And the Shiite militants, content usually with the tourists and the vendors offering souks, pop, chocolate bars or candy rolls among the ruins, hear a poster of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, his initials in kaffiyeh (Arabic) around a pose for photos and play traditional Arab music for tips. "I've never seen the place before," said one Lebanese-born immigrant, wearing a Canada's Wanderland T-shirt, who had moved to Ottawa with his family during the war. "My parents have always told us about it," he added, "so here I am."

In Beirut, scenes of chaos are crowded with sunbathers, the streets and nightclubs teem with activity, and boutiques are full of the latest Paris fashions. "There's really no place like it," said Hassan El-Rida as he relaxed in the Blue Note bar recently. He returned to get married in Beirut after being abroad for 20 years. "There's something special about this place I can't describe," he added. "This will be my home again some day."

But officials still face a mammoth task in restoring the city. Nearly every building suffered some damage during the war. Residents enjoy only six hours of electricity daily, and officials predict that it will take four years to restore full power. That is partly because innovative residents have strung a spider-web-like mass of lines to tap limited power supplies—in the process, weakening the system. Few homes have running water. And it is almost impossible to place a phone call. Officials estimate that, as well, it will take four years and more than \$400 million to rebuild a telecommunications system. "The peace and security are wonderful," said journalist Abou Khaled, who owns a beachside apartment in West Beirut with her husband and eldest daughter. "But life here isn't getting much easier."

Still, the city shows some signs of progress. During the war, rats and cockroaches thrived on mountains of garbage piled up in Beirut. Since then, that presence has been reduced as emergency dumpsites dredge seven and a half of 50 new garbage trucks haul 500 tons of refuse daily. Solid waste officials worked on the cleanup. "In three or four months, we will have a different Beirut—not the Beirut we want, but it will be more livable."

To that end, the Oger Lebanon firm, owned by Lebanese-born Saudi millionaire Rafiq Hariri, is doing much of the reconstruction so far, funded by a \$45-million Saudi donation. But many more millions will be required to do anything other than cosmetic work. The Lebanese government's Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) has vowed to undertake a lavish \$2-billion development of Beirut's one-square-mile downtown district, once the world's fifth-largest banking centre. There, along the



Hariri arriving in Wiesbaden: renewed hope

waterfront, the city's opera house and cathedral stand in ruins. Tourists pose for photos beneath a bullet-riddled statue in Martyr's Square, shadowed by the massive skeletons of bombed-out buildings. CDR officials say that the downtown's renewal is the key to restoring confidence in the Lebanese economy. "It's the main economic and financial centre," said CDR adviser Ali Serfati. "It could trigger the process of economic recovery for the country."

CDR officials say that they hope to receive foreign development loans from because of uncertainty during the war. They are also looking to attract investment from the hundreds of thousands of expatriates who fled the country and who, according to the International Monetary Fund, held more than \$17 billion abroad. Said Serfati: "If they can come home and say they are confident enough to invest in their own country again, then others would follow."

Already, more than 20 navigation companies have returned to Beirut, although shipping traffic is still only half what it was before the war, when the city had one of the busiest ports on the Mediterranean. And at least 14 airlines have returned to Beirut's airport.

Still, some analysts say that the political climate must change markedly before Lebanon can move toward investment. Asked one observer in Lebanon who requested anonymity: "Who is going to sink any money into a country controlled by Beirut? Ending the hostage crisis may be even more critical. 'Until it is solved,' said Jomel Gwex, a Middle East specialist at the University of Arizona in Tucson, "the Lebanese government will look like a fake government that doesn't have control of its own country." Lebanon, he added, "is trying to live down a reputation as a lawless, lawless place." That may be impossible—at least until the eight remaining Western captives win their long-awaited freedom.

MARY NEMETH with ALLAN THOMPSON in Beirut and CHAS DRAKE in Cyprus

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A re-enactment of the August coup foils a Moscow woman's chaotic situation

THE SOVIET UNION

Shadows on Red Square

Ukraine's actions threaten national unity

Heavily armed Soviet soldiers massed outside the Russian legislature last week—but they caused little more than aggravation among Moscow drivers, who had to detour around barricades and removed vehicles for the second time in two months. That's because the 11 T-72 tanks and 10 troop carriers that appeared near the parliament buildings were maneuvering strictly for show, taking part in a \$14-million re-enactment of Japan's failed military coup. Despite the traffic problems, some Moscovites expressed grudging respect for the international production's success in persuading Soviet officials to let them re-create the patch in central Moscow. Among them was Konstantin Prutyn, a 33-year-old electrician who said that he had helped defend Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the besieged legislature, known as the White House, last summer. "Yeltsin should be so efficient—he has not been an effective leader since the coup failed," complained Prutyn. "The economy is collapsing, and Ukraine and other republics want to be independent, with their own armies and nuclear weapons."

Such fears are now widely held—and expressed—in Moscow and other cities across the former Soviet Union. In fact, in a poll of

Moscowites commissioned for the Soviet news agency last week, 64 per cent of the 902 respondents said that they believe the country's chaotic political situation had either failed to improve or actually worsened during the past two months. Certainly, Russia and seven other republics earlier this month managed to sign an economic pact to maintain a shared currency and banking system. But Ukraine and three other republics, Azerbaijan, Moldova and Georgia, refused to sign the agreement, increasing concerns that the political and economic disintegration of the old union would continue. Indeed, with countryside inflation increasing at a staggering 10 per cent each month, Russia has authorized its residents to introduce its own currency if other republics take that step.

Yeltsin argues that the economy is needed to prevent Russia from being swindled with near-worthless rubles from other republics. But Mikhail Delyagin, a spokesman for the Central Bank of Russia, voiced reservations last week. Said Delyagin: "The introduction of new money is not the best way to stabilize the economic situation in the republic."

Opposing a special meeting of the disintegrating country's national parliament early last week, President Mikhail Gorbachev urged the

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WORLD

independence-minded republics to reverse course and work together to ensure food and heat supplies this winter, Gorbachev told the deputies that some people want the country to return to the old system of highly centralized control, while others want such republics to be completely independent with only minimal political and economic links. The best of these ideas, he warned, are doomed. Declared Gorbachev: "If either of these propositions are enacted, I'm very deeply concerned that the consequences will be catastrophic for all the people, both high and low."

Ukraine, meanwhile, a key partner in any new union, is continuing its drive towards full independence with a referendum planned to be held in December. With its 53 million people, extensive industry and rich farmland, the republic is viewed only to Russia as its importance to the Soviet economy. And in the Soviet parliament met in Moscow last week in an attempt to flesh plans for a loose confederation, Gorbachev, Yeltsin and seven other republic leaders issued a blistering joint appeal to Ukraine: "Let us be frank," the statement read. "We

cannot imagine a union without Ukraine."

But Ukrainian officials have balked at some provisions of the economic treaty, including one that would assign central control over most of the republic's food production. Said Ukrainian first deputy prime minister Konstantin Merzh: "We do not want Moscow to take us by the throat. Those times are over. We are not going to create a central heel for some—enforce the agreements—click in Moscow to decide for us."

Ukrainian legislators meeting in the capital of Kiev did something else last week that could only dismay Gorbachev's hopes for a new union structure: they endorsed the formation of a 400,000-member republican army. That action, accompanied by the parliament's demand for at least joint control over about 2,000 nuclear warheads, occurred despite Gorbachev's assertion that

independent republics could not lay claim to Soviet military forces on their territory. Indeed, Vladimir Kryuchynsky, a Ukrainian government representative in Moscow, heightened the growing tension between Kiev and central authorities by announcing that the republics

army, air force and naval assets would be drawn in part from an estimated 1.3 million Soviet military personnel who are now stationed to the republic.

In Kiev, the Ukrainian legislators said that the new military forces would be used only for defensive purposes, and they said to ally Western concern about Soviet republics joining the nuclear-weapon club. They insisted that Ukraine still intended to become a non-nuclear state. To that end, the legislators said, they would pursue a policy of neutralizing nuclear weapons now stationed in the republic. But apart from an expressed desire to take part in disarmament talks with other nuclear powers, there was no indication where Ukraine planned to disarm weapons that are still under Soviet jurisdiction.

In any event, Soviet military officials are now expounding optimism that the projected costs of a separate military structure—up to \$6 billion a year, or \$1.9 billion at the highest official cost of exchange, per year, according to some estimates—will persuade Ukraine to modify or even drop its plans. But as soldiers and armored vehicles deployed the same days of August near the Russian legislature last week, it was clear to Soviet officials that they were likely to encounter many more roadblocks on the way to political and economic stability.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

WORLD

THE UNITED STATES

Who killed Huey Long?

Scientists try to solve a southern mystery

Then I saw what was in his hand, and even as I recognized the object, but before the significance of the recognition had time to form itself in my mind and memory, I saw the two little spots of pain-escape flame from the muscle of the assassin.

—All the King's Men

In Robert Penn Warren's novel, Dr. Adam Strunk is lately shoots Gov. Willie Stark, a character based on legendary Louisiana politician Huey Long. But personally who shot Long on the night of Sept. 8, 1935, in the marble corridor of the state capital in Baton Rouge, remains a mystery. According to some of Long's bodyguards a man wearing a white suit emerged from behind a pillar holding a .32-caliber Browning semi-automatic pistol. They said that after the man, 29-year-old Dr. Carl Weiss, shot Long in the abdomen, they returned fire. Weiss did actually, but body guards shot at least 62 bullet holes. Long died

two days later. But no autopsies were conducted at the behest of the two men. Long biographer Ed Reed has theorized that Weiss's pistol misfired and that the bodyguards accidentally shot the politician in the confusion. And last week, in a bizarre reaction into history, scientific investigators in Baton Rouge returned Weiss's remains to try to find new clues to the troubling southern drama that has endured for 50 years.

James Starrs, a criminal law professor and forensic anthropologist at George Washington University, leads the team that unearthed Weiss's coffin. Hailed as a pioneer in his field, two years ago Starrs dug up five victims of 19th-century California cholera. Allied Packer



Starrs: new evidence

to determine whether their flesh had in fact been eaten. He found convincing evidence that it had. Last week, after examining Weiss's skeleton, cleaning the bones and placing them in airtight bags at the Lafayette Parish forensic laboratory, Starrs's team took the remains to Washington's Smithsonian Institution for tests. It plans to release its findings at a meeting of the American Academy of Forensic Scientists in New Orleans in February. In his Washington office late last week, Starrs, a pushy 61-year-old with a way some of humor, candidly predicted that he would get the dead man to tell his story. "I have dreamt about him for as many months," he said. "He is almost as if he was asking to be enhanced."

Aside from Weiss's remains, Starrs wants to examine the dead man's pistol, which had been among Starrs' prized weapons in 44-year-old Mabel Garma's home in New Orleans, the daughter of the chief investigator at the time of Long's death. Last month, police contacted the pistol, along with a spent bullet and a magazine containing six cartridges, from Bienville's safe-deposit box. At her home, police also found previously missing official records of the case and photo-

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Crew exhuming Wojan's remains in Ruston Rouge; a Marine excursion into history

graphs of the murder scene. Sgt. Starns: "I think that the spent bullet could contain the entire tale."

Serialized governor of Louisiana in 1938, Long, known as Kingfish to his constituents,

was a controversial politician. His advisors portrayed him as a charismatic populist hero who gave free textbooks to schoolchildren, perched the state's debt loads and presided hope in the rural poor. But his opponents denounced him as

a feckly, drunken demagogue who ruled Louisiana as a dictator. Long was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1939. There, in the midst of the Depression, he pushed for a radical redistribution of the nation's wealth to finance public-works programs. Discredited with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal remedies, Long planned a run for the presidency—a dream shattered by his sudden death.

It is those two facets of Long, hero and demagogue, that have led to the rich and contradictory tales of his death. In his Pulitzer Prize-winning 1980 biography *They Long T. Huey Williams* writes that the affable Weiss was "a stoic and deliberate young man who agonized over the evils that he believed Huey Long was inflicting on his state and his race." Williams Hux, in his newly published *The Kingfish and His Rules: The Life and Times of Huey Long* contends that Weiss went to the state capital on that fateful night in 1935 to settle a score with Long, who had tormented his family by claiming that there was "Negro" blood in their veins. Hux told Mackenzie: "It would have been a social death to be accused of that."

Carl Weiss Jr., who was three months old when the shooting occurred and who is now an anthropologist in Garden City, N.Y., cautiously hopes that the historic scientific findings will vindicate his father. But whatever the outcome, the myth-shrouded mystery of Huey Long's death may never be solved.

WILLY MACKENZIE is in Washington

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Assembly line at the VAZ plant in Togliatti: traditional links in the centrally planned economy are crumbling

BUSINESS

SWITCHING GEARS

Compared with millions of other workers at the Soviet Union, the 116,000 employees who work in the country's largest car factory have enjoyed an enviable standard of living. Located in the city of Togliatti, 900 km northwest of Moscow, the giant Volga Automobile Works plant (known by its Russian initials as VAZ) generates more export revenue than any other Soviet factory—about \$500 million a year. As well, assembly-line workers at the plant earn roughly twice the average Soviet industrial wage of \$225 a month. This fall, however, VAZ's output has fallen sharply amid the economic chaos that has paralyzed the country since the failed coup in Moscow in August. But VAZ is fighting back by becoming the first large Soviet manufacturer to take advantage of any billions now being unshackled from attorney by Russia, Republic President Boris Yeltsin. In September, the Rubin automobile Fiat SpA passed negotiations for a 30-percent share of the Togliatti factory—estimated

RUSSIA'S LARGEST CARMAKER CALLS FOR HELP IN ITS STRUGGLE TO ADJUST TO A MARKET ECONOMY

to exceed \$1 billion—in a program to increase production. Plant managers and employees alike were encouraged by the prospect. Said Mikhail Leladze, a 14-year veteran of the Lada assembly line: "With more production, I might have a better chance of getting a car myself." But VAZ and Fiat will need more than optimism to overcome the challenges that they

face in the coming months. The two sides have yet to agree on a final price for the ownership stake in the huge plant, which produces several models of cars, including Ladas exported to Western Europe and Canada. As well, both sides are keenly aware that any final deal will set a key precedent for other Soviet businesses and foreign investors.

The proposed partnership falls under state-sanctioned laws passed by the parliament of the Russian Republic that took effect on Sept. 1. For the first time, they allow foreign companies to establish wholly owned subsidiaries on Russian territory, and permit them to exchange ruble profits that they earn for dollars. Yeltsin's initiative is more ambitious than the previous market-oriented economic reforms that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced. Under those laws, foreign-owned companies had to enter into elaborate international "barter deals" in order to repay hard-currency profits from their Soviet operations.

Since the started coup in August, however,

Russian and other Soviet companies have seized many powers from the central government, and the Russian parliament claims that its legislation overrides Soviet laws. As well, Russian officials now oversee operations at the VAZ plant and other Soviet enterprises on its territory. But even before the dramatic summer collapse of central authority, Soviet reform plans had called for the sale of two-thirds of state enterprises by 1995. And under a recently adopted privatization law, Fiat began negotiating to acquire a stake in VAZ in May.

Despite Yeltsin's even stronger campaign for privatization and foreign investment, many Western businessmen who are trying to invest deals in the aftermath of the collapse of communism complain that some of the worst features of the old system are still present. Among these, layers of bureaucracy, weighed by officials who guard their fiefdoms with intense zeal and who often demand bribes. Said Eugene Tenenbaum, a Canadian who represents the international accounting firm KPMG Peat Marwick in Moscow: "This place is the Wild, Wild West."

But Fiat executives are counting on their already strong links with VAZ to help overcome those obstacles and improve their access to a potential Soviet market of 290 million consumers. These links date back to the early 1960s, when the company won a hard-currency contract to build the Togliatti plant. In fact, in 1964, the Kremlin renamed the city formerly known as Gorky after Vladimir Togliatti, a former leader of the Italian Communist party who had recently died in the Crimea.

The factory has brought prosperity to Togliatti—something that has eluded most other Soviet cities during 74 years of Communist rule. Among the city's apartment buildings that line most of the city's streets, there are special stores where plant employees can purchase consumer goods that are rarely available in other Soviet cities. According to Mikhail Kuznetsov, the deputy chairman of the plant union, these coveted stores are obtained through barter trades. About 10 percent of the cars that the plant produces are reserved for Soviet buyers. But a vast underground network trades some of the newest cars on the Soviet car goods ranging from Finnish-made to Japanese-Honda cars, which are then sold to

employees for as little as one-third the market price charged for similar cars in Moscow. Until the pro-Communist backlash that followed the August coup, in most cases such barter benefits had been available only to favored Communist party officials. That discrepancy led one demonstrator, during an anti-Communist rally in Moscow last year, to state bluntly a placard that read: "We must live as they do in Togliatti!"

But with the traditional links in the country's centrally planned economy now deteriorating, even VAZ is struggling to obtain parts and other vital materials. Last year, said deputy director Boris Skripovskiy, the plant's production had dropped 10 percent below last year's levels because of supply problems. Kuznetsov and other VAZ officials say that they are worried that the factory may be unable to meet one of the key goals in its partnership with Fiat—expanding yearly production to 500,000 cars, a third of them destined for export.

As well, despite the long-standing links between the two automakers, the negotiating teams are now trying to finalize the deal late yet to agree on the formal approved value of VAZ. Soviet accounting practices are markedly different from those used in the West, and the Soviets have little experience in assigning market value to assets. As a result, after the two companies began formal negotiations in May, they both hired Western experts in order to determine VAZ's worth.

As the negotiations have dragged on, however, Soviet news reports have implied that Fiat would eventually control the entire VAZ plant. But Soviet newspaper *Moskovskiy Kuryer* has assured VAZ workers and other Soviet citizens that a private citizen need not shoot to fall under foreign control. Said Kuznetsov: "The talks with Fiat are not about selling part of the existing plant, but about valuing the investment needed for production growth." There is still hard bargaining ahead before any deal is struck. But Togliatti and a car plant was the pride of Soviet communism are now leading the rest of the country towards an uncertain destination.

MALCOLM GREY is in Togliatti with GABRIEL LA-MONROIE in Moscow

Business Notes

BANKS DROP RATES AGAIN

Faced with a sluggish economic recovery and rising inflation, Canada's five largest chartered banks last week again lowered rates by a quarter of a percentage point to 8.75 per cent. The new rate is the lowest in four years, and some bank economists predicted that the banks will cut their rates even further if the recovery fails to gain momentum.

ON THE AUCTION BLOCK

British aerospace giant Hawker Siddeley Group PLC, which is attempting to offload a \$2.5-billion backlog takeover by the British engineering conglomerate ETS PLC, announced that it plans to sell off four of its operating divisions, including Hawker Siddeley Canada Inc. The Toronto-based subsidiary has 2,800 employees and reported a profit last year of \$2.7 million.

THE END OF THE LINE

A Montreal bankruptcy court placed Lavalin Ltd., formerly one of Canada's largest engineering consulting firms, under the control of a trustee in connection to a lawsuit by a French bank. Lavalin did not contest the assertion in a petition by the Paris-based Citicore automobile de crédit agée that it is a bankrupt. Lavalin still owes the bank \$5.8 million from a loan that it used to buy eight Airbus jetliners for an \$160-million contract.

A BITTER HARVEST

Vancouver-based financier Samuel Belsberg, 55, will write another searing report toward him the company that he helped build into an empire that once controlled \$5 billion in assets. Banks and other investors who are now covering the operations of troubled First City Financial Corp. Ltd. considered an agreement to give the company's co-chairman \$2.8 million plus \$75,000 a year for the next three years. An independent committee of the firm's directors had authorized the payments to Belsberg in March, after he left the board.

CANFARMO UP THE HOOK

Fallen Toronto real estate tycoon Robert Compagnon agreed to personal bankruptcy when the Bank of Montreal agreed to drop a lawsuit and accept an unfinished portion of the \$10-million loan that he owed. Before the spectacular collapse of his U.S. real estate empire in January, 1988, Compagnon's personal fortune was estimated at \$500 million. But a bank spokesman said that, because his debts far exceed his assets, it would not be liable to finish Compagnon's bankruptcy and auction off his dwindling holdings.

A billionaire's bargain

Hong Kong's Li Ka-shing snaps up Husky Oil

Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-shing snapped at home last week, but his influence on high-level negotiations in a Calgary boardroom was considerable. Aerial views of his headquarters on the top floor of trademark Nova Corp.'s downtown headquarters, representatives of the publicly-traded tycoon agreed to buy Nova's 43-per-cent stake in Husky at a price of \$1.5 billion. Li's company, Li Ka-shing Holdings Ltd. (LKH), for \$225 million. As well, Li promised to pump an additional \$200 million in cash into Husky if Investment Canada approves the deal. Li, 63, already owned a 43-per-cent stake in Husky that he purchased in 1987. Last week's agreement will make him the first in the growing ranks of Hong Kong-based overseas investors in Canada to purchase outright control of an operating company in the volatile energy sector. According to Michael Goldberg, dean of the business faculty at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, the deal is a major departure from Li's and other Hong Kong financiers' standard practice of holding passive, income-generating stakes in the country. And Goldberg: "Li has bought into something that is already established, but it's hardly a passive investment. He clearly will exercise control."

Indeed, with the 1992 deadline for China's takeover of Hong Kong approaching, Li is becoming more aggressive and ambitious in his North American business dealings. And Nova and Husky, which are both struggling in the midst of an oil industry slump, are only the latest in a series of Canadian companies to benefit from Li's appetite for expansion. A week before the Husky deal was announced, Li agreed to lead Toronto's Kinross Mines brothers up to \$465 million to acquire an office tower in the financial district of New York City. In return, Li will receive a 49-per-cent interest in the building. It is his first foray into the often-fickle New York real estate market and his first partnership with the Rockefeller. Li also departed from his traditional base of commercial real estate and shipping investments last year when he joined the aggressive and aggressive Toronto-based investment dealer Gordon Capital Inc. in an unsuccessful attempt to gain control of a highly speculative portfolio of so-called junk bonds owned by a bankrupt U.S. savings and loan company.

Li, whose estimated personal fortune of \$3 billion makes him one of the world's wealthiest, has been investing in Canada for more than two decades. He acquired his first shipping company in Vancouver in 1959. In the early 1970s, he formed a partnership with the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce to establish a Hong Kong-based merchant bank, Canadian Overseas Finance Ltd., and his relationship with the bank has

endured. He is now the bank's single largest shareholder. In 1988, Li added the former site of Expo 86 in Vancouver to his list of Canadian holdings when he paid \$525 million for the 53-acre area and agreed to spend about \$2 billion over 35 years in redeveloping it as a commercial and residential complex, to be called Pacific Place. In addition to buying property in Canada

King-based investors to put some of their money into operating companies. In fact, in 1980, then-Nova chairman Robert Blair was among the first Canadian businessmen to travel to Hong Kong to ask Li about investing opportunities. After meeting with Blair, Li agreed to purchase his first investment in Husky for about \$400 million—much less than he has now agreed to pay for another \$2 billion.

That money and the relationship with Li proved to be an important source of stability for Nova during its aggressive and turbulent expansion in the late 1980s. Blair was the architect of that expansion, which culminated in its controversial \$1.3-billion takeover of the Sarnia, Ont., petrochemical producer Polysar. Being

ing is company executives, would appeal to the current performance of investment for companies that have only one line of business. Conversely, Nova's assets are split between the extremes of the fluctuating international petrochemical market and the steady and predictable Alberta-based natural-gas pipeline utility.

Husky, which owns 344 service stations from British Columbia to Quebec and has large reserves of natural gas and heavy oil, did not set its sights on acquiring the sprawling conglomerate. Heavy oil is more scarce than conventional oil and, as a result, is more costly to extract. Heavy oil is currently worth as much as \$25 (U.S.) a barrel less than lighter grades of oil, now selling approximately for \$25 (U.S.) a barrel. As well, natural-gas prices

at what many analysts say is a bargain-basement price. Nova valued its interest in Husky at its books at \$114 million. But the \$225-million bargain that Nova struck with Li will force the company to record a \$210-million paper loss after taxes on the sale in its third-quarter results. "The sale price is definitely a massive disappointment for Nova," says Kinross chairman, an energy analyst with the investment dealer Stans & McCarthy Securities Ltd. in Toronto. But she added that "the company is in such a dire financial position that it has to take what it gets—and live it."

Nova's cash proceeds from the sale to Li will be used to reduce Nova's debt to \$600 million. Analysts say that the company's crumbling debt was the principal reason for the delay in completing the deal.

After repeatedly pledging Nova's commitment to keeping its Canadian assets out of foreign hands, company executives sold its Sarnia-based rubber division to Bayer AG of Germany for \$1.3 billion.

But even though Investment Canada has to approve Li's purchase of Husky, oil executives and federal opposition politicians predict that there will be few complications. Under federal trade Canada guidelines, foreign investors are almost completely free to purchase control of troubled companies in the resources sector. Even Liberal energy critic David Kilgus is firmly in favor of the sale to Li. Still, Kilgus: "There are so many hot spots of people whose jobs would be endangered. If this deal doesn't go through, it would be a tragedy if Husky argued



Li laying down personal roots in Canada in addition to buying property

in his last few personal roots in Canada. His two sons, Yee-yee, 37, and Richard, 35, are both Canadian citizens and have already played active roles in several Canadian transactions backed by their father.

Li, however, is just one of many wealthy Hong Kong tycoons whose affinity for Canada appears to be growing. According to figures collected by Investment Canada, the total amount of investment by citizens of Hong Kong has increased to \$1.84 billion in 1989 from \$168 million in 1984. Like Li, most Hong Kong financiers are primarily interested in real estate.

Not Canadian government officials and corporate executives alike are succumbing Hong

& Chemical Corp. in 1988. Since then, however, Nova has been acquired by higher levels, permanent losses in its global petrochemical operations and massive capital-spending requirements. Last September, Blair, 63, retired as chairman of the company that he joined for 33 years.

The sale of Husky thus fits the company's plan to restructure itself and relieve its \$444-million high-yield debt. As part of that plan, Nova's management announced in July that it planned to split its pipeline and chemical businesses into two separate public companies after it asked its owner to raise money from investors and finance the expansion of Nova's Alberta-based pipeline. The asset split, accord-



A motorcycle fills up at a Vancouver Husky gas station: \$325 million in new equity in the midst of an industry slump

are their record low, and energy analysts are not predicting any improvement in the coming months.

Still, Husky president Arthur Price appears determined to expand the company's production capacity. But his efforts have been hampered by Nova's ability to provide the necessary financial support. Under the terms of last week's agreement, however, Li will inject \$300 million in new equity into Husky. That money is earmarked for Husky's portion of the \$1.3-billion heavy-oil upgrade in Lloydminster, Sask., and the Canadian natural-gas project in northwestern Alberta.

Nova's financial troubles also forced the company to sell its remaining Husky stake to Li

midway its restructuring plan, which was due to be completed at the end of October. The other main reason for the delay in the arrival of a new management team. Following Blair's retirement, Edward Newell, a former chairman of DePort Canada Inc., was appointed president and chief executive officer. Company executives say privately that Newell, who is still studying the completion plan in detail, has slowed down the restructuring process even further.

Last week's deal is by no means the first time that Nova, which frequently emphasizes its Alberta roots in its advertising and promotional, has turned to foreign investors to help the company overcome its difficulties. In 1990

and last Nova further in the process. "For his part, Marcel Tremblay, president of Enerplex Energy Services Ltd. of Calgary, said that it is "helpful" to raise the issue of foreign control of resources when the oil industry is in such a deep slump. Added Tremblay: "This sale reduces one company and clears a bed in the hospital for another person."

For energy outsiders like Li, whose looking for bargain-priced North American assets, the growing list of distressed-banking Canadian companies may bring new meaning to the term "cross-border shopping."

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Harcourt's innovative plan for B.C.'s future

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There's a lot that political jokers expect to say another with a special kind of glee. It happened among those who expect to see a special kind of glee in the NDP's plan to jump on the partisan leaders who have not only lost elections, but took their parties down with them to oblivion or at least leaving against the wilderness.

Apart from the prominent place of honor reserved for Richard Hatfield, who lost every seat in the 1987 New Brunswick election, the roster of these Gung Shoo candidates includes: Mike Warr, the Manitoba underdog who practiced his profession in his own Conservative party in 1986; Barry Strass, who in 1972 permanently lacerated Alberta's Social Credit party; and Frank Miller, who may have performed the same service for the Ontario Tories just ten years ago.

To that list of never-never names must now be added Rex Johnston, who in a close-fisted, Python-esque last second searched his faltering backbones to a humiliating defeat, ending the province's 30-year Social Credit dynasty. Even in the wacky world of British Columbia politics, the sheer stupidity and boyishness of his campaign defied rational explanation. She never allowed the chance to display an uttering instinct of going for her own people, making every political mistake in the book, and winning some of her own War tactics had the awkwardness of a Minnie Mouse trying to take over Disneyland—and losing to Goofy Boy.

Not only did Johnston never even try to distance himself from the scandals of the Viceroy's Zine regime, but he belatedly throughout the campaign as if voters would not only forgive but forget that on the very day she collected the election, his predecessor was being arrested in court on charges of criminal breach of trust. It was a good indication of how far he had slipped in the people's regard that when she demanded the resignation of the Social Credit cabinet, John Ball, and on the very day she collected the election, his predecessor was being arrested in court on charges of criminal breach of trust. It was a good indication of how far he had slipped in the people's regard that when she demanded the resignation of the Social Credit cabinet, John Ball, and on the very day she collected the election, his predecessor was being arrested in court on charges of criminal breach of trust.

The NDP will cut its ties with Bob Rae's Ontario. Harcourt will not allow radicals to hijack his government's political agenda.

the Man vote, one of the few Moon runs to stick with Social Credit.

In contrast, the NDP campaign rolled smoothly to victory, winning 54 of the province's 78 seats, if not a majority mandate. (OK, maybe not perfectly smoothly. Jim Beattie, the NDP Greenpeace/union candidate, did introduce his leader to a local rally as "And now, here he is, the handiest man in B.C., Mike Harcourt.")

The liberals, of course, put in the most lousy performance, coming from zero to 27 seats, on an platform, no budget and a leader described by a friend as "a real Degraded Borealis who'll fall into any open manhole in the province." They claim Gordon Wilson got elected merely because he was the personification of British Columbia's—and Canada's—most popular political movement, which can only be categorized as "none of the above."

And Mike Harcourt is no Borealis. The last voter to govern British Columbia (1979-2002) his under-performance has gone down in the province's history as a joke. It was while Harcourt was working as a worker on the city's transit system that he was given the assignment of the new Social Credit cabinet. John Ball, and on the very day she collected the election, his predecessor was being arrested in court on charges of criminal breach of trust. It was a good indication of how far he had slipped in the people's regard that when she demanded the resignation of the Social Credit cabinet, John Ball, and on the very day she collected the election, his predecessor was being arrested in court on charges of criminal breach of trust.

From that day to this, he has been very careful to stress his proven political stance: social democracy.

What that means, now that he's in power, is that Harcourt will cut the NDP's ties with Bob Rae's socialist Ontario and not allow the radicals in his caucus to hijack his government's political agenda. Under Harcourt's leadership, the NDP has tried to keep its radicalism out of its own party. The NDP's leadership's stance began to be followed, earlier this year, he ordered his front benchers to wear neutral suits and conservative dresses to ask questions in a calm, even detached, manner and never to raise their voices.

(The party even secretly hired a Washington-based political coach, a former Shakespearean actor named Michael Sheehan, to teach socialist MPs how to be more effective on television.)

A few weeks before he won the election, I had a private interview with Harcourt and found him surprisingly specific on the five main pieces of legislation that he intended to implement once in office:

1. A new minimum corporate tax on profits (I don't know at what rate, but it will be lower than Hong Kong's 17 per cent).
2. A prohibitive new surcharge on capital gains made from real estate flips. (The levy will be 80 per cent on property bought and sold the same year, 80 per cent within five years.)
3. A new code of ethics and pollution measures for B.C. pulp mills, setting stringent limits for pollution and ecosystem destruction by 2005.
4. An immediate reduction of the land development of provincial wilderness parks to 12 per cent of the B.C. territory.
5. A new law providing second mortgages of up to \$25,000 for first-time home buyers.

A series of steps that will demonstrate an acceptance of ecological life and the nature project's inherent right to self-determination.

Harcourt's modest first-year agenda will be the use of the first budget. "I believe in balanced budgeting," he told me. "Not over a business cycle, rather than every budget. The problem in Canada is that we're over-spent on the good times as when the bad times come we had accumulated a huge debt. As mayor of Vancouver, I had a budget built during the last down turn. It came in 20 per cent under budget and seven months ahead of schedule. That's the time to do your public projects. If you do that kind of planning, you don't bleed dry. This shall have a balanced budget every year, whether it's good or bad times. The goal is to have a balanced budget cycle and hopefully put some surplus away for the low points."

It all sounds eminently sensible and politically boring.

About the only radical remaining in any kind of power position in British Columbia is Barry Reine, the old-line Marxist who still sits as a Vancouver alderman and occasionally rights an ideological trigger lock.

Recent events have cleared up the differences between the city council in Vancouver and Moscow. The Moscow city council doesn't have any Communists on it.

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PEOPLE

GIVING INTO BOOKER FEVER

British author Julian Barnes recently published his sixth novel, *Telling It Over*, but he has yet to receive even a nomination for the coveted Booker Prize. The author of such critically acclaimed books as *Flaubert's Parrot* and *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters* says that the prize is not that important to him. But he acknowledges feeling a twinge of envy when his close friend Martin Amis finally received a nomination this year for his new novel, *Time's Arrow*. Said Barnes: "It used to be a small cottage industry, not nominating us for the Booker."

Written off

Canadian author Michael Ignotzoff says that when his first novel, *Agua*, appeared in England earlier this year, he was surprised for the negative reaction from critics. Reviewer Catherine Bennett wrote in *The Guardian*: "Anyone trying to write an ambitious first novel might have written *Agua*, but only a fact would have published it." So far, the reaction of Canadian critics has been kinder. And Ignotzoff, who is a noted London literary commentator and critic and the author of the acclaimed nonfictional, *Reverend Alchem*, is at work on a second novel, but he said that enduring the critical wrath that greeted the publication of *Agua* was "a bit like being nagged."



Ignotzoff: A literary survivor

Asked the 44-year-old author, who travelled to Toronto last week to read at the International Festival of Authors, "It's not easy to get nagged. But if you survive, you get it, you graduate, you shower and you call your attorney again. I survived."

JUST SAYING 'NO'

Canadian movies often lack big-name stars, but director *Gael Singer* was not fazed by the deal with the opposite problem. The Canadian film-maker was working on his new movie, *Winnipeg*, a documentary about female comedians, which opened in Canada last month. While filming *Winnipeg* in Los Angeles rehearsing for a benefit for the homeless, Singer came face to face with actor-comedian Robin Williams, who was rehearsing for the same show. The comic began to crack plans and became as Singer worked. He even stood behind Goldberg making funny faces and gestures. At one point, Williams asked Singer if he could reform for the film. Singer was in the unenviable position of having to turn Williams down, explaining that the film was about female comedians. The actor then said that he "would appear in drag" in order to get on screen, but Singer refused. Said the director: "Get your own film." But she admitted: "It was tough to say 'no'."

Singer: wackiness from Robin Williams



Kensit: making frank confessions

A SEXUAL ODYSSEY

In her stellar new feature film, twenty-one, Patsy Kensit plays a 21-year-old secretary in search of sexual adventure. Best known as the blond bombshell in *Lethal Weapon*, the 25-year-old British actress addresses the camera throughout the film with frank confessions about her private odyssey. Said Kensit: "The funny thing about sex is that they don't think women are with about them like that." Added the actress: "They think that what happens in the bedroom is top secret, but of course you go off and discuss it with your girlfriends."

Landscapes of a Lifetime

Inspired as much by Emily Carr as by Spanish surrealists Jonc Minot, Canadian painter Jack Shadbolt has spent 60 years patting his eclectic visions onto canvas. Now, Shadbolt is scheduled to be the subject of a major retrospective that opens on Nov. 2 at the prestigious *Gladstone Museum* in Calgary. Said Shadbolt, 62: "I'm not one of those nostalgic people, but once an exhibition gets going, it's always interesting and fun."



Shadbolt: a landscape artist

When the fun-lovers of today's *Californians* sometimes first arrived here, they hoped to emulate the excellent wines from vineyards they had left behind. But things turned out differently. Because as well as vines and skills from their homelands they brought an energy and enthusiasm which in time spread. Helped by character and soils which gave a combination of vintage personality and uniformity, the growers of the *Californian* found a reputation for class and innovation at all of their own New, generations' kind, the winemakers here are glad that their reputation is something you can now really taste.



Wife of the Californias

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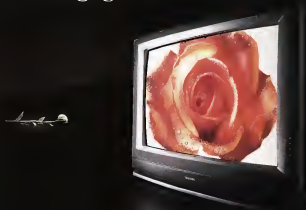
Becomes like reality is still looking over

Wines of the Californias

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Diana and Charles during welcoming ceremony in Salford; heavy schedule

ROYALTY

A regal mystique

The princess steals the show

At the end of a day during which each of her appearances had been meticulously planned weeks in advance, Diana, Princess of Wales, ignored the royal plan—and a burst of heavy rain—to chase a small group of royal watchers to Salford, Ont. On Oct. 24, the first full day of their week-long Canadian tour, Diana and her husband, Prince Charles, had just a 45-minute visit to the industrial city 346 km north of Toronto. Then, on the grounds around back to Salford, they spent about 15 minutes before the press, she stepped out of her limousine, opened a blue umbrella and unexpectedly walked over to a crowd of about 150 people standing behind a wooden high chain-link fence. She smiled and shook hands with many of them through the fence ("It's like a zoo," she said with a smile) before bowing the Canadian Press secret that was

writing to take the royal couple to Toronto. "She looked right at me and smiled," said a wet but ecstatic Joyce Stamer, 35, who was there with her husband, Charles, and two of their four children. "Her eyes were beautiful."

Apart from light security, the royal couple's heavy schedule during the tour, which was to end on Oct. 29 in Ottawa, rarely permitted a departure from the script or a moment of spontaneity. Indeed, federal and provincial officials said that the royal visit really amounted to two separate tours because Charles and Diana had so many separate appearances to make.

While Charles went to an Iron Lad seminar and a community college in Salford, Diana visited cancer patients and a shelter for battered women. Tour officials said that the schedules were designed to reflect the couple's interests in social causes and their determination to take

an active role in public life. Sir Andrew Morton, the London-based author of *Inside Buckingham Palace* and six other books on the monarchy, "Charles is a royal revolutionary. He is doing things no other Prince of Wales has ever done."

But despite the official emphasis on substance rather than ceremony, thousands of Canadians who saw Charles and Diana in Ottawa appeared to be motivated by the mystique of royalty. In Salford, an estimated crowd of 4,000, including hundreds of schoolchildren, waited patiently under grey skies and the threat of rain for the royal couple to appear. Black, Roberts, 23, and his friend Gregory Harris, 24, both students at Salford's Laurentian University, arrived at the site of the provincial government's official welcoming ceremony at 3 a.m.—one hour before the royal couple was due to arrive. "We were a little overzealous," said Roberts. "Nobody else got here until 6."

The tour also attracted a group of 15 American supporters from states including North Carolina, Massachusetts and Ohio. Linda Melvin, 36, of Herrington, Ill., said that the members of the group, all veterans of previous tours, arranged to meet in Toronto and stay at the Royal York Hotel. They then travelled to Salford for the official welcome, said and the



These with adjectives outside Toronto city hall: charismatic



Prince Charles in Sudbury; helping Ontario Culture Minister Karen Hanson recover her shoes; departure from the script



Diana greets fenced-in wall walkers in Sudbury; with sons William (left) and Harry at Niagara Falls teaching gestures

they planned to follow the couple to Kingston and Ottawa. Maryanne Poodtewit, a 38-year-old mother of two from Jane Lee, W. 10, said proudly: "This is the eighth year I've been on. As just Jane Davis."

The royal couple arrived at Toronto's Lester B. Pearson International Airport at 6 p.m. on Oct. 23, ostensibly as scheduled, aboard a Canadian Forces Boeing 707. They were greeted by Gov. Gen. Ramon Hnatyshyn, his wife, Geris, Secretary of State Robert de Cotruis and his wife, Diana. Then, the group walked into an Air Canada hangar, normally used to service DC-8s, for a half-hour ceremony. During their stay in Toronto, Charles and Diana spent their nights aboard the royal yacht Britannia, along with their children, William, 9, and Harry, 7, who arrived in Canada a day ahead of their parents. The lavishly appointed 413-foot yacht, painted royal blue and with a crew and staff of 270, was moored at the Toronto waterfront.

After spending the afternoon in Sudbury, the couple entertained about 50 invited guests at a private dinner aboard the Britannia that evening. The select group included Hnatyshyn, Ontario Premier Bob Rae, just passed Oscar Peterson and Canadian film director Norman Jewison. Although it was dark, and a hard rain was falling, hundreds of royal-watchers gazed from a distance in the thousands pulled up to the Britannia with their own gear.

The couple, along with their children, were scheduled to attend a Sunday-morning service at St. James Anglican Cathedral in downtown

Toronto on Oct. 27 before departing for Kingston at noon aboard the Britannia. The highlight of the royal visit to Kingston was to be a speech by Prince Charles to the Queen's University convocation ceremony as part of that metro-area's 150th anniversary celebrations. The Ottawa schedule for the prince and princess included lunch with the Hnatyshyns at Rideau Hall and dinner at 24 Sussex Drive with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Mila.

Starting with three afternoon in Sudbury, and continuing throughout their visit, Charles and Diana made numerous informal appearances that collected their personal interests. The prince, who has tried to convince business leaders in Britain and elsewhere that they must be more sensitive towards the environment, officially opened a new lace unit. It is part of a \$500-million project aimed at cutting the company's emissions of sulphur dioxide, a component of acid rain, by 60 per cent by 1994. And on Oct. 26, Charles hosted a symposium on sustainable development in theory that has economic growth in environmental protection at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in Toronto. He visited a diverse group of prominent Canadians, ranging from Thomas Reta, chairman of Toronto-based shoe manufacturer Beta Ltd., to Ovella Mercurio, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations.

While her husband focused on business and environmental issues, Diana was more preoccupied with social and medical concerns. She visited Casey House, a Toronto hospice for AIDS patients, most of whom have only a short

time to live. Earlier, in Sudbury, the princess also made an appearance at the YWCA's Genesis House, a shelter for battered women. In one of her most touching gestures, Diana spoke individually to a number of recent patients at the MacLennan Ontario Regional Cancer Centre in Sudbury. "They were all beaming as she left the room," said one woman who was present.

According to some close observers of the royal couple, Charles and Diana now are far more involved in public affairs than they were during their previous visits to Canada in 1983 and 1985. "The prince is a graceful idealist," said Robert Davies, chief executive of International Business in the Community, a London-based charitable organization that arranges forums between business executives and various social advocacy groups on behalf of Charles. Added Davies: "He believes very strongly that business must be more responsible in its use of resources. He's honest, he's a good communicator and he's very concerned."

Others contend that Diana's personality and commitment to such high-profile issues as AIDS have catapulted her to the forefront of the Royal Family. "She has developed personal qualities that can quite properly be described as charismatic," said Morton. "She is not just another player on the stage. She has star quality." And from the cheers and the smiles that followed the prince wherever he went, it was clear that she is the star attraction of the tour.

LAW

Taking a chance

A U.S. court eases the ban on asbestos

Some recent cases, people have widely regarded asbestos as one of nature's deadliest poisons—its microscopic, needle-like fibers and almost undetectable material that a

series of medical studies began in the 1950s showed that exposure to fibers then common in the workplace caused a variety of diseases, including a respiratory illness called mesothelioma.

As cancers mounted over the mile, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced in July 1989 that the use of vermiculite products containing asbestos—often pipes to break leakers for asbestos—would be banned after August, 1996. But in September, 1990, Canadian asbestos mining and manufacturing companies, as well as the Asbestos Institute, a Montreal-based group affiliated with the industry, announced their decision to file petitions for review of the ban with the U.S. federal court of appeal. The petitioners received support from both the federal government and the government of Quebec, whose mines make the province the second largest asbestos producer in the world after the Soviet Union. And on Oct. 18, a U.S. federal appeals court in New Orleans struck down part of the ban, declaring that the EPA had not provided enough evidence to support it.

Industry and government officials in Quebec promptly declared that the decision could help to revive the province's flagging asbestos industry. Said Claude Dugas, a spokesman for the Asbestos Institute: "When people first discovered that asbestos could be dangerous to health, it created a phobia. That caused the producers to see the amount of asbestos sold cut by half over the past 10 years." A decade ago, the asbestos industry, centered largely in Quebec's Eastern Townships, employed as many as 10,000 workers. But as production declined to 600,000 tons last year from 1.2 million tons a decade ago, only about 2,500 people continue to work in the \$420-million-a-year industry.

Although the court's decision has on occasion listed pipes, including pipes in which asbestos is widely misapplied, it maintained the prohibition against new uses of asbestos, as well as on such imported asbestos products as roofing, flooring and kilns. Few experts on either side of the issue seriously dispute the fact that exposure to asbestos can pose a serious health hazard. As well as asbestos which causes a potentially fatal scarring and thickening of the lungs, medical researchers have linked exposure to asbestos with cancer of the lungs, throat and digestive tract.

When supporters and opponents of asbestos differ on the question of whether the material can, under some circumstances, be used safely, industry officials say that chrysotile asbestos, mostly produced in Canada, does not pose a risk to health if it is contained properly and does not get into the air. But environmentalists and some workers at the medical community reject that argument, claiming that there is substantial evidence about the dangers of exposure to chrysotile asbestos, even in small amounts.

In the meantime, EPA officials said last week that they had not decided whether to request the court's decision. For their part, industry officials say that while the ruling may mean some success in business for mining companies, it will be difficult to completely recover the ground lost during the past decade—and will lack the public's confidence.

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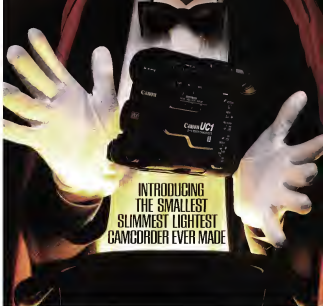


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Surviving in a precarious occupation

BY TRENT FRASINE

Anyone familiar with *Misus of Mark*, the transverse best-seller by George Will, an American political pundit and wide-eyed baseball buff, is aware that successful major-league managers carry an enormous load of strategy under their peaked caps. A 144-page volume of Will's book was devoted to the tactical master plan of Yogi Berra, the manager of the Oakland Athletics, and there was no clear indication, when Will was finished that he had explored every crevice.

Not all managers own philosophies as complex those of the hardened Oakland thinker. During the recent American League baseball playoffs, for example, it was possible to examine the madman operations of the rival managers, Tim Lincecum of the Minnesota Twins and Claudio Geronzi of the Toronto Blue Jays, searching out the secrets for survival in a precarious occupation.

Preseason? You have no idea. At the most recent event, 13 managers of the 26 major-league teams had been dismissed in one opening day for being what is known in *The New York Times* described as "grossly overpaid, overpaid—no other words, they didn't win any division championships lately."

Accordingly, when Tim Lincecum emerged from the Minnesota dugout at Toronto's SkyDome, he was encouraged to outline how he had managed to eliminate the Twins from last place in 1999 to the present season.

Kelly is a stern-waged fellow of 41, with dark brown eyes and growing reddish hair, who frequently carries a stubby dark cigarette in a corner of his jaw. Television viewers frequently catch him sitting calmly in the dugout behind a pair of tinted, brown-tinted glasses halfway down his nose.

As I say, he apparently doesn't subject his brain to the weighty exercises neither Will uncovered beneath La Russa's collarless pants. When I asked him if he had a particular managerial philosophy, he stated the cigar ball

Baseball managers all have one thing in common: when they're hired, they're on their way to being fired

thoughtfully. "Sure," he said at length. "I try to keep out of the way and not screw up."

Across the corridor, perched gingerly in a corner of the Blue Jays dugout to ease reaching back, Claudio Geronzi received the press hordes patiently. He is tall and erect and mustache, a quiet-spoken man of 47 who spent 11 years as a major-league outfielder and, since, has abided demurely from any claim to being the hardest exponent of Albert Einstein. As with Tim Lincecum, he does have a managerial philosophy. "Stay out of the way and let 'em play" is what the man said, sitting there in the dugout.

Baseball managers come in all shapes and sizes, most with several life philosophies but all with one thing in common: when they're hired, they're on their way to being fired. It's as inevitable as how on balls. Even so, there has never been a manager quite like the current one when recently left the managers were sent packing. For now, Kelly is safe, having reached the World Series for the second time since he became the Twins' manager late in the 1996 season. But Geronzi's position became precarious the instant the Blue Jays were dispatched by the Twins in the American League playoffs.

Usually managers are fired by the owners of

long-term, the baseball club being that it's impossible to fire 24 players but easy to dispatch one manager. But even managers of successful teams are often badly treated. One time, I sat listening to this topic at the top subterranean office of Sparky Anderson, who has been managing the Detroit Tigers since he was fired by the Cincinnati Reds after nine years there. In that span the Reds finished on top of the National League West five times and were second three times. They got into the World Series on four occasions and won twice. Nonetheless, Anderson was fired following the 1975 season.

"I didn't blame them," Sparky said earnestly, in this time in his Tiger command, pulling on a carved pipe and blowing frosty, sweet-smelling tobacco into the defunct air. "I'd been there nine years. See, I think sometimes they just get sick of looking at you."

In earlier times, managing a big-league ball club was the next thing to lifetime employment. Occasionally, of course, managers were cast aside, but they nearly always re-emerged raising other teams. Casey Stengel once said, standing at a podium during the 1954 World Series, "I've been a manager in several cities and was discharged. We call it discharged because there is no question I had to leave."

Walter Alton ran the Dodgers in Brooklyn for four seasons, then moved with them to Los Angeles for 16 years later. Charlie Grimm and the Cubs for 13 seasons, and Jimmy Dykes was across town at Comiskey Park managing the White Sox, also for 13. Mike Huggan ran the Yankees for 12 years and Joe McCarthy took over their helm for another 16. The famous John J. McGraw was a fixture in New York for 31 years as manager of the Giants, but nobody matched Connie McGillicuddy, who had the good sense to abandon his seat to Connie Mack before he took over the old Philadelphia Athletics in 1901.

For half a century, Mack spent his summer afternoons on the A's bench adjacent to a high, starched collar and a fed-styled hat directing his players. Of course, he was helped by the fact he and Benjamin Shibe had been awarded the Philadelphia franchise in the new American League in 1901. In 1901, when he hired a former A's third baseman, Jimmy Dykes, as his replacement as manager, Mr. Mack, to everyone called the day of the below, was 67.

Nowadays, money is a terribly scarce commodity. Fringe as valuable as possible, because in this time managers were paid. The Giants' franchise, there are such staggering amounts of money involved that owners have grown greedy and trigger-happy. Certainly, managers rarely seem to have the fire of earlier times and nothing like the longevity. Tim Lincecum, after following 12 years of managing the Rockies and going to the World Series a truly remarkable 20 years, Casey Stengel was honored at a testimonial dinner. He was 71 years old that year (1960) and had a twinkle in his eye at the time of the first talk in which he said "I could never do it." Of course, he was a winning record, "nothing for players." They don't make managers like that so much



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COUNTERSTRIKE
ACTV, Saturdays 9 p.m., starting Nov. 21

At the best, international co-productions are showpieces for the finest that the small-screen has to offer. Combining financing from around the world with international pools of writers, directors and performers, such alliances often add up to the more than the sum of their national parts. But when filmmakers attempt to please audiences everywhere, the result can be a hackneyed product in which "international" is really a code word for "Americanized." *Guatemalteco*, CTV's new one-hour action-drama series, falls somewhere between those two extremes. A strong cast, including *Conan* co-lead Christopher Plummer and French-actress Cécile De France, gives the show a decidedly cosmopolitan feel. But the story—a recently freed convict is wrongly arrested while witnesses "ventral history" against all testimony given even since his 1980s incarcerations—

Produced by Toronto's Alliance Communications Corp. and two French firms, *Crusade* is already in its second season on the New York City-based *Info Network*. A dubbed version will air on French TV later this year. The show is the only new, non-American prime-time series to appear on either CTV or CBC this fall.

But although Cooney's director, Adam Nagait, seven of its 12 directors and nine of its 12 writers are Canadian, the show's premise is all-American: with the Cold War over, violent terrorists pose the chief threat to law-abiding, democratic nations. What pre-9/11 would have been the role of the villainous Alexander Siddons (Phantom), he assembles a elite team of assassins with, as he puts it, "resources and connections that a police force can only dream about."

From that point on, it is only a matter of finding enough foreign terrorists to keep the well-oiled vigilantes satisfied. The motives of their crimes, meanwhile, are given mercifully short shrift. Although one troubled team member questions Adelman's hypocritical approach to terrorism, a police sergeant dismisses the Irish Republican Army as simple "knives." Exhibiting all the subtlety of Operation Desert Storm, Guatemala substitutes firepower for diplomatic finesse.

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Tower of power

With IMAX, the Stones are six storeys tall

Even for a hardened Stones fan, it sounds scary—the prospect of seeing Mick Jagger's lips and Keith Richards' whiskers magnified on a movie screen six storeys high. The *Rolling Stones "At the Max"*—which opens at IMAX theatres in its Canadian cities this fall—is more than tolerable. It is, in fact, the most spectacular concert movie ever made. And the staggering scale of the IMAX screen screen initially scared to a group that has come to be known as the greatest rock 'n' roll band in the world. "At the Max" is the Mount Rushmore of concert films. For the Stones, it marks yet another triumph in a 26-year career. And for the world of corporate rock, the film offers a technical breakthrough that could revolutionize the concert business. Pop music has finally found a medium to match the hypecycle of its image.

The conquest was forged by two Toronto-based entertainment companies: Imax Corp., which invented the giant-screen technology 30 years ago, and the ICG Group, which produced the Stones' 1989-1991 *Steel Wheels* tour. Showcasing its records for live music events, the tour drew 4.2 million fans and grossed \$190 million on three continents. ICG president Michael Gold convinced the Stones and their friends to work together. Jagger and Richards agreed two examples of rock blockbusters: one about the space shuttle and another about beavers. "At the Max," which cost \$11.4 million to produce and has a promotional budget of \$4 million, is the first full-length IMAX feature. And, as Richards notes in an interview on videotape released by the promoters, far from to rethink on such a project was "adventurous—it's kind of a departure from beavers."

Until now, the giant-screen format has been mostly for science and nature films. But with the new system, it has crossed the threshold into pop culture. In fact, IMAX executives have already talked to other major music acts interested in following the Stones' lead. "People are now seeing that and saying, 'This is exciting stuff,'" says producer Fred Kleiderman in an interview. "Record producers and high-end performers—the Michael Jacksons of the world—are going to want to see this. What we offer them is a unique form of immortality—we capture them in the present

form possible." Kleiderman added that he also envisions IMAX versions of lavish Broadway musicals such as *Phantom of the Opera* and *Cats*. "Andrew Lloyd Webber has talked to us on and off about *Phantom*," he said.

Meanwhile, construction of new IMAX the-

atres, owned by Entertainment and World Odyssey, Inc., is under way in theme-park convert zones with seats that swivel, but is now expanding into other live-screen formats. With the money of the patent on the original 1976 IMAX technology two years ago, World Odyssey has funded similar centers and projector systems. And it plans to build two theatres, at Missions and Aransas, that could show IMAX films. Kleiderman says that he expects competition to increase. "But I think we will continue to dominate the marketplace."

IMAX is a pioneer in accurate cinema—including the recent development of a radically improved 3-D projection system. But with the high-profile Stones feature, the company may now begin to interest Hollywood. British filmmaker Julian Temple, who co-directed "At the Max," told *Nylon* magazine "There is a future for

effects, but adding 'But a *Dances with Wolves* would have been perfect." For now, IMAX has prevailed as an exciting new medium for pop music. Its gigantic screens still matched to rock videos, where it's based on the concept of amplification. "At the Max" was shot last summer at massive concerts in East Berlin, London and Turin, Italy. It is a straight-up performance film, featuring 15 songs. The sound is loud, loud, loud—digital sound. And the high-resolution IMAX image—from frames 30 times larger than the 35-mm film used for conventional feature movies—is sensational. "It's a new animal," said Temple. "I think it will be known as its effect on audiences."

Concert movies have not been especially successful in the past. Some took on unusual significance as documentaries portraying an era. *Gimme Shelter* (1970) showed the Wood-

stockers at more comfortable. The tickets—ranging from \$12.50 to \$117—were about half the price of a live Stones show. And the view is so extraordinary that the distance between the audience and the stage seems to disappear. Because the screen is so big, its edges escape the viewer's peripheral vision.

The movie offers a comfortable balance between intimacy and scale. The angles captured by seven IMAX cameras range from a helicopter shot overlooking London's huge Wembley Stadium to a close-up that catches Richards' silver skull ring as his hand brushes across his guitar. There is a sense of Jagger singing *Spaceman in the Dark* in a special-effects temple of wind and metal on a scaffold high above the stage. And, for 2000 *Light My Fire*, the screen is filled with video images of the singer amplified into psychedelic

hall-crawled features. Richards looks like rock's answer to the Ancient Mariner: Jagger, meanwhile, plays the aerobic catman. Moving through a kaleidoscope of martial contraptions, he swarms from bronco to dragon, in black coats and alabaster accents to a slinky T-shirt that reveals a 45-year-old midriff as tight as a new drum.

In the past, IMAX movies have evoked using close-ups as quick editing techniques for fear of compressing the audience. But Temple, who has produced videos for the band, says that he and the Stones trusted on each other. In fact, the close-ups are not extreme—"We didn't go into the crowd here," noted Temple. The director added that the Stones drew the line in letting the cameras get too close. "I don't want that strange sense of the band lumbering up before the opening camera. Jagger says that he had no interest in so-called documentary footage. "It's such a cliché," he says at a videotaped interview about the film. "You know, women fanning up patrons, girls in the corner, people shooting a pool." In any case, the technology would make it difficult to be a fly on the wall, said Temple—"IMAX is more like being a chao on the wall."

The videomakers of the equipment posed a considerable challenge. Weighing 90 lbs., an IMAX camera weighs as much as the size of a small car. Says Jagger: "The best thing for a concert movie is to have the smallest camera, with the best picture opening, and the longest length of film—the biggest camera, the longest amount of people with the shortest film length you can have. It's a bit contradictory." But Temple says that the Stones were usually accommodating. After performing a 2½-hour concert, the band would go back on stage after the crowd had left and replay certain songs for the camera. "You would never expect that," said Temple. "Normally before the act settles on the first line, they're out of there."

Jagger and Richards were involved in all the key decisions surrounding the movie, according to the film-makers. And Richards found the cancellation of the movie's heavily promoted premiere at September's Festival of Toronto. "The sound man wasn't satisfied," said Temple. "North is very obsessive, and quite rightly so, about his band's sound. Mick was most open to allowing it." But he wasn't impressed by the final result. "It's amazing to see your own self look 20-foot long," says Richards, bemused by the absurdity of it all. "You start off as a guitar player, and suddenly you're getting a spectacle."

But with IMAX, the Stones may still have trouble reaching all their fans. The American Museum of Natural History in New York City, which houses the only screen there, has decided to show the movie. Consequently, the film's producers are exploring the possibility of building a temporary IMAX facility in Brooklyn's Beacon Theatre. With a partnership with the Rolling Stones, a Canadian company that has made the "biggest" movies in the world now seems to be headed for the big time.

ERIAN D. JOHNSON



Jagger (left), Ron Wood, Richards: 'Venacious in its effect on audiences'

stock docu duos in violence at a Stones concert at the Alhambra Theatre in California. The Last Waltz (1976) served as an elegiac song for The Band. As a musical experience, however, a 30-min concert movie is a pale substitute for the real thing. Its limitations are so fully evident in the fabulous *Get Back*, a new movie documenting Paul McCartney's 1969-1970 world tour.

But "At the Max" is, at some times, better than being there. The sound is superior. The

attraction—like an immense, animated *Andy Warhol portrait*.

Although the 89-minute movie was cut from 80 miles of footage shot on five nights, it plays as a single compound concert. After a year of touring, the band is in fighting form. The music—downplayed by such classics as *Muddy*, *Jack*, *Stones*, *The Clash*, *Go*, *Get Back*, *What You Want* and a songed-up *Satisfaction*—has never sounded better. And, viewed at such close range, the Stones are fascinating. With

stars is booming. Tickets set for 77 around the world, including the company's top-notch venues, which are a special screen. Another 25 theatres are due to open next year. Canada, meanwhile, has most theatres in Montreal, Hall, Que., Toronto, Niagara Falls, Ont., Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. The company estimates that last year, more than 128 million viewers in 35 countries watched IMAX theatres—most of which are located in theme parks, museums and world fairs.

The success of rock has sparked competition, notably from two California-based compa-

ny. The most people watch the screen, and the smaller the screen, the more they want to watch things that are totally overwhelming—like a *Tron* movie. It, which could be filmed as an IMAX feature," he said. Kleiderman said "My view is more conservative. I think we'll do a number of these concert films over the next few years and then something that already exists—say, *Phantom* and *Phantom* is not what happens when a *Spidey* says, 'I'll do this but only as a Max.' A *Tron* movie would be difficult to shoot in IMAX because of all the shots and special

An Orwellian outlook

A great writer gets a clear-eyed treatment

ORWELL

by Michael Sheldon
(Corgi, 164 pages, \$29.95)

If George Orwell had never written a word, he might still be counted as an extraordinary human being. By the time he died at age 46 in 1950, he had been a policeman in Burma, a fighter in the Spanish Civil War, a tramp, a grocer, a hotelkeeper and an affluent English countryman who once loved to dabble sports in bicycle races. But Orwell was also a master of English prose who wrote hundreds of satirical essays and reviews, as well as half a dozen novels, including the masterpiece *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. As American academic Michael Sheldon points out in his excellent new biography, Orwell, the war's literary activities were at a piece with his life: he never wrote about cold winters or Spanish politics as growing pains without at least some firsthand experience. And he never moved to ground his brilliant insights as a kind of weary, cynical canonist—which is why reading Orwell's work is often like listening to the last sane, sane voice in a world gone mad.

Sheldon's biography can make certain claims to originality, it draws on letters from Orwell that have never appeared in books before. But the book's main strength is its simple yet suggestive language and unadorned pace. It reads Orwell—words and all—in such a clear, steady gaze that he becomes living presence. As well, Sheldon's comments on Orwell's vast literary output are models of clear, Orwellian good sense.

George Orwell was the pen name of Eric Blair, born in 1903 in India, where his father was a British colonial official. In 1904, he married, his mother, Ida, took Blair and an older sister back to England to live. He was happy at their home in the rural Thames valley, but his stifled childhood came to a brutal end in 1913, when he was sent to Saint Cyprian's, a boarding school for boys. Blair hated the school's authoritarianism—he was beaten for writing his first—and it was probably there that he began to develop the chronic sensitivity to injustice that belatedly made brilliant social criticism later on. But he was a successful student, eventually winning a scholarship to prestigious Eton, a school that he later credited with allowing him to develop his individuality.

Blair's growing dislike of Eton was not high enough to win a university scholarship, so in 1922 he returned to Eton and joined the Imperial Police. At an age when most middle-class young men were still gawking over school



Sheldon focusing on a true eccentric

books or apprenticeship to businesses, Blair was in charge of a police force in an area with 300,000 people. Sheldon skilfully evokes the young Englishman's desire for imperial rule, the evils of which the writer later disavowed in his classic essay "Shooting an Elephant" (1936). That work tells the story of how Blair, collected over a village from the predators of a native elephant, discovered the animal possibly leading that he had to shoot it anyway, rather than lose face with his lords.

After five years, Blair gave up his commission and—a failure in his father's eyes—returned to England to write. It took several years, and a great deal of work, to develop the distinctive authorial voice of George Orwell. Blair adopted the pseudonym in 1933 for the

sake of anonymity. He also played into the cross of the era: in the early 1930s, when the problems of the past and the unemployed were on everyone's minds, Orwell chose to live for several weeks as a tramp, an experience that became the basis for his first book, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933). Another firsthand account, *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), resulted from his 1936 participation in the Spanish Civil War, where he fought on the side of the socialist government and he was wounded in the throat by a bullet from a fascist sniper.

Orwell's adventures were inspired by far more than a voracious search for material. He was a committed socialist who took his solidarity with ordinary people extremely seriously. Sheldon rightly emphasizes that point for many people on the right wing of the political spectrum have claimed Orwell as their own, simply because he was often critical of socialism. But while Orwell hated Russian Marxism—he referred to it in his 1945 satire, *Animal Farm*—he never ceased to work for a social democracy based on traditional English notions of private liberty.

Orwell drove himself relentlessly. He wrote his last book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), on a remote Scottish island when he would have been far better off resting in an attempt to recover from tuberculosis. His vision of a totalitarian state run by "Big Brother" appeared to ecstatic readers. Half a year later, Orwell was dead. Sheldon's book is a sad reminder that, with Orwell's passing, the world lost a measure of humanity and intelligence that it could scarcely afford to be without.

JOHN BROWNE

Moclean's

BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Scarlet, Pearly* (3)
- 2 *Wilderness Tips, Alford* (4)
- 3 *Life, Perry*
- 4 *Handful Things, King* (3)
- 5 *Shadows & Walking Lights, Davies* (2)
- 6 *Remember, Douglas* (2)
- 7 *Time's Arrow, Levi*
- 8 *Night over Water, Miller* (3)
- 9 *Hotel's Ghost, Macer* (3)
- 10 *Caravels, Ferreira* (3)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Betrayal of Canada, Henry* (2)
- 2 *Pearl Bay, Mackay* (3)
- 3 *Melbourne, Kennedy* (3)
- 4 *Madison Prison, Thomson* (3)
- 5 *Me: Stories of My Life, Shapiro* (4)
- 6 *Sea of Thorns, Stewart*
- 7 *The Popcorn Report, Polonsky* (2)
- 8 *People of the Peace, Fink and Pauline*
- 9 *The Quilt and the Devil, McHenry*
- 10 *Shadows Prisoners, Meier* (3)

(3) Figures last week

Compiled by Brian Bellows



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Going to the dogs with the royals

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Those outsiders viewing our perpetual angst might do well to ignore the national trauma over language. Not language in a whole, of course, and single words. The nation has been told apart, for example, over the meaning of one word—"harvest." Sometimes it is the key to our survival. But the outsiders, ignoring this fact, have a quicker route to understanding the confused country called Canada: it is to observe the semi-annual charade called a race by the royals. Based news editors, tired of multiple readers and pangs on the breezy, decide extra letters so we can learn the length of skirt of another country's porcupine. They picture an audience to look like ordinary Canadians and photographers break stories to record this amusing loss.

The best way to measure the maturity of Canada is not to desert the nonsense over the awkwardness class, but to observe the crowned kept over the most privileged family in the world. If we really want to resemble Ruritania, we achieve it at least twice a year with the arrival of the royals.

Our world think, with the advent of *People Magazine*, we could achieve a raft of top-man, with three fingerings, but there always is some jangled-up difference's wife as a neglected newspaper who was to read out ever after at having reached the heart of the greatest of a slightly eccentric prince who loses one day before his death in become a king.

Some of us loved Dr. Seuss, others, it appears, but then they told us: Most Canadians took your neighbor are loved by what the news editors thrust on us. It is why—Buck House sleeping over ever more obscure citizens on a jobbing house—they must now sit with Sully in a landing spot.

As the public bonanza with a foreign family increases each year as Canada attempts to grow up, the nervous businessmen who arrange these things want reach farther and farther afield to find the most recent levels who will go with their arrival.

One can clearly imagine the day when the chief problems of the royals will get their



official welcome in hand, to be followed by a visit to a day care station just outside Wren, with the main banquet hosted by the Governor General in Bell's Cove.

Only then would the significance of their arrival be felt. As only then would we be spared the presence of the dachshund of Fleet Street back, the camp followers who took their sassy travels along in the slipstream of the chariot wheels, sending back their tired clothes of life among the colonials.

The time, then, for the doghouse arrived. How the two head royals engaged together in condescension as Adele (Pearl) Queen's Rose, wife of the recently deceased premier of Ontario, criticism relative after relative—either the Change of the Light Regime—to a Queen's Park reception that threatened to end there.

All it reveals is that the affluence of the richest woman in the world can piggy on

monstrous discovery we thought we had learned from *People magazine*—or was it *Today*—some time ago. "Beware the God," as the demographers tell us is now less than 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon, which is why and he remains terrified of a big response—shaped the royals in Sully, where they were absolutely incensed to discover a name.

The ladies from Givoli Street were delighted, naturally, with finding the world's tallest crockstack in Sully, over their main interest in such measures among the colonies is not to cover the royals but to search for names among the natives. The married search is to find an equivalent to the woman at a recent Vancouver Island house), some years ago, who instructed Prince Philip: "Hold the fork, Cook, the pie's to come."

Such gross domestic London newspaper puts the details, rather like the tales of those guests in Africa who arrive with boxes through the nose when white he and tails is finally selected on the enclosed invitation. Why Canadians put up with such nonsense is the essence of the nonsense of the Canada that hasn't yet learned to grow up.

Bedtime as the interest in the royal schedule, since 19 and the newspapers provide all the essential trivia, there is a search for which marketable trend of the family can be shipped abroad. Randy Andy is a current star and Brigitte means official. Today we apparently don't talk about anyone and therefore the brilliant solution is to send the kids, which is photographer even with a strict limit on space.

The real interest in the latest semi-annual visit of the royals has nothing to do with the monarchy, that with the monarchy, that with the monarchy, that with the monarchy.

connection, long had from a Canada that has decided to be populated to mark from Heng King and Jennifer as from Royal Regis and Clapham Canada. The utilization is about whether this particular trend of the royals—demons, this photograph is a truly complex or just another version of Elizabeth Taylor's latest marriage-for-ever.

These are not royals. These are a gossip story: It is King and Queen as person, holder for the water cooler and the hand-drawn picture. People march off the newspaper like a train arrives in Sully, while gapping over the sudden richness of the wife of the premier of one of the larger colonial possessions.

One day Canada—don't hold your breath—will grow up. One day Canada, if it wishes, will have a substantial family of public relations experts of its own. If we don't, here is a warning: This year the kids, next year the dogs.

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